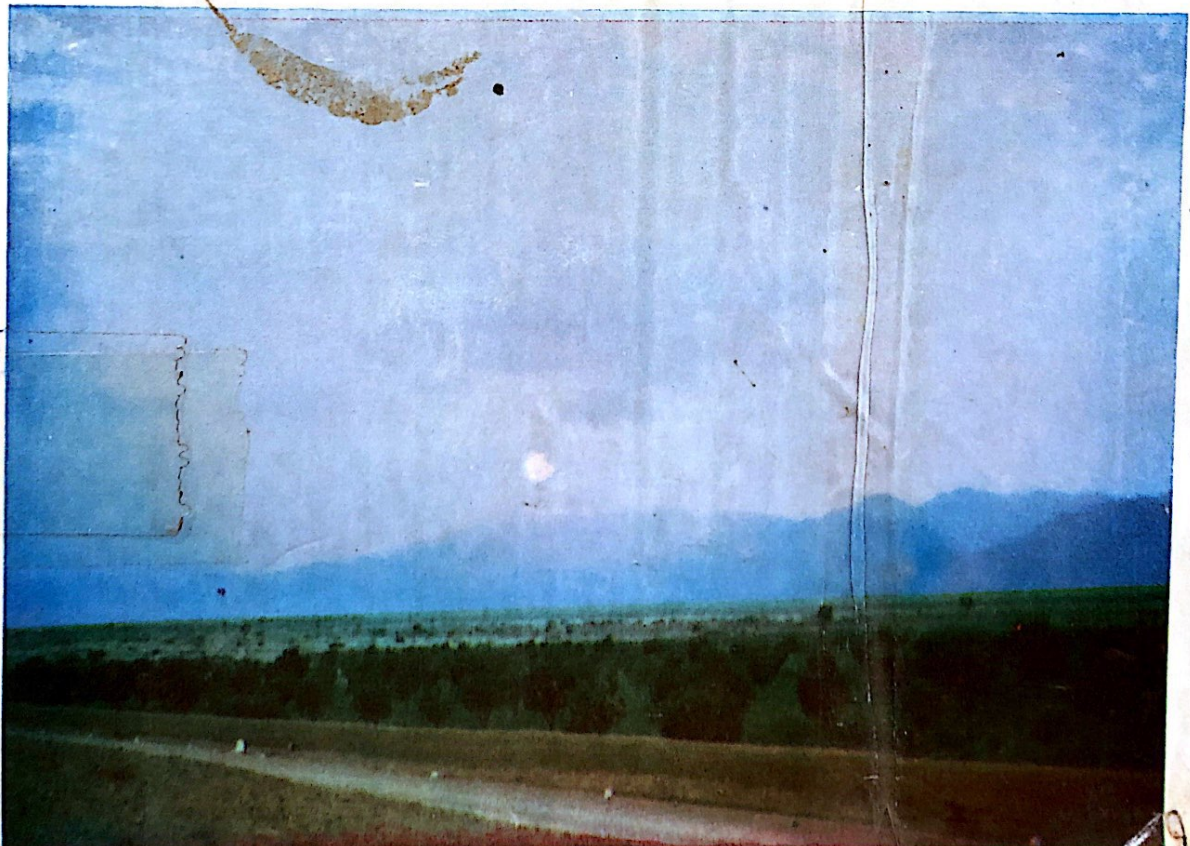


INSIDE BALUCHISTAN



POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF KHAN-E-AZAM
MIR AHMED YAR KHAN BALUCH
EX-RULER OF KALAT STATE



u.

INSIDE BALUCHISTAN

A POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HIS HIGHNESS

BAIGLAR BAIGI : KHAN-E-AZAM-XIII

MIR AHMAD YAR KHAN BALUCH

KHAN-E-BALUCH

EX-RULER OF KALAT STATE

NOTICE

1975



Publishers

ROYAL BOOK COMPANY

P. O. Box No. 7737

KARACHI-3

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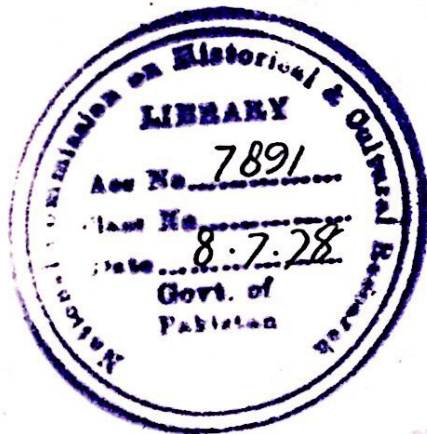
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FIRST EDITION

1975



PRINTED AT

MA'AREF PRINTERS, KARACHI (PAKISTAN)

Pri

Dedicated
to
The Baluches—my life-blood



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A Word to the Reader

by

M. Jaffer Hussain

HISTORY is not merely an account of the achievements of rulers and the ruled; it is also a record of what man has destroyed and discarded in the process of the evolution of history. An honest historian must, therefore, confine his work to a totally dispassionate narration of absolute facts—both pleasant and otherwise—without acting as a judge and passing unwarranted conclusions. It would not be far wrong to say that, more often than not, authors have used only such historical material as evidence which conveniently suited their motivated themes and purpose, quietly ignoring the evidence operating against their own designs. If the function of history is to educate the thinking of future generations, the description, causes and effects of events, in order to be evaluated correctly, must originate from persons who were eye-witnesses during a given period of time, and whose sense of historicity was mature enough for a serious study of political developments during the period described. This happens but rarely; and obviously, not all modern authors—howsoever scholastic they may aca-

demically be—can be classed under this category of authentic chroniclers, except, of course, the acknowledged research scholars who dedicate their lives to sifting of historic facts from historical fiction.

But, when the narrator happens himself to be a living member of the hereditary line of an erstwhile ruling family: a contemporary link in the chain of continuity of a particular phase of local history pertaining to his own genealogical line of ruler-ancestors, he does not have to pretend to be an 'author' or a 'scholar'. For, he speaks factually on the substantial and documented authority of his well-preserved family records and official files, which, in course of time, will duly become the source-material for students of history and the historians alike.

Such is this Autobiography of Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch—the former (*His Highness the Khan-e-Azam*)—Ruler of Kalat State in the province of Baluchistan. It is a first-person-singular version of the origin and evolution of the dynastic rule of the Ahmadzai Khans of Kalat, who ruled over a major part of Baluchistan for well over 280 years, including the Author's own eventful regime which virtually ceased on 30th March, 1948, consequent upon his State's democratic accession to Pakistan.

How true was John Dryden when he sounded: "All human things are subject to decay; and when fate summons, Monarchs must obey!" These significant words, uttered in the 17th century, are as true today as they were then, for the destiny of nations today is steadily nestling its way out from the evanescent grip of autocratic regalism, to breathe its free existence within a social structure wherein, as Prime Minister Bhutto in his first Presidential broadcast to the nation in 1971 said: the common man can turn round and

say, "Go to hell . . . I do not like you", to the ruling authority.

But unlike some power-drunk autocrats, the Khan of Kalat is a living example of how man—even if he virtually happens to be a king—must necessarily move with the currents of contemporary political philosophies. As the pages of this Autobiography will unfold, he had his fingers on the public pulse of his subjects in the State (which ranked as the third largest princely State in the Subcontinent) even before his ascension to the throne in 1933; and it was this politically cultured regard for human and social values that made him vest authority in the two Houses of Parliament—*Diwan-e-Aam* and *Diwan-e-Khas*—which he himself introduced, rather than contrive to maintain the princely image which hereditary State rulers part with only after bloody revolutions or political assassinations.

Again, it was his religious zeal coupled with political foresight that inspired him to identify himself whole-heartedly with the Baluch community in the Muslim League struggle for Pakistan in the name of Islam. His sense of patriotism for Kalat—his own land of birth—based as it was on religious promptings, and *not on ethnological impulses*, widened itself—when the time came—to revolve around a new homeland for the Muslims of the Subcontinent. His ancestral State had become legally independent with the cessation of British rule in India on the historic midnight of 14th August, 1947; and it must be remembered that constitutionally and administratively, his State was then a part of *British Baluchistan* as distinct from *British India*, and therefore, not an Indian State—a fact which was recognized officially by the British rulers long before they departed after winding up their supremacy. Geographically, of course, Kalat State was contiguous not only to Pakistan but to other independent

Muslim States also with ethnic affinities flanking its borders. The choice of decision was his, solely.

But what decision did he take?

And why?

This is what this authentic and fully documented Autobiography seeks to tell retrospectively with a geographic and historical account of the emergence of the Author's dynasty in Baluchistan; its people; its immense natural wealth; its strategic position in the Subcontinent and the manner in which the British endeavoured to exploit it; and finally its contribution to the Pakistan Movement.

The Author's role as the Ruler, and indeed the role of Baluches in general, throughout the struggle for Pakistan was, as will be evident from the account given in these pages, clearly motivated by a religious desire to rally to the support of Muslim nationalism in India, aiming at the establishment and consolidation of Muslim solidarity in a separate and sovereign Muslim State within the boundaries of ancient Hindu India, over which the Muslims had reigned supreme for over 700 years—a psychosomatic obsession that still pricks the Hindu mind.

So-called 'ethnic' and 'cultural' factors have no place in the Divine philosophy of Islam when it comes to choosing between a legitimate democratic unit of Islamic brotherhood on one hand, and radically opposed kingships or dictatorial systems on the other. Himself a staunch Muslim, the Khan of Kalat along with the Baluches in the province had, therefore, no hesitation whatsoever in deciding which way to go; and he sealed the matter of his State's accession by officially declaring his and his peoples' allegiance to the new nation-State of Pakistan in 1948.

What happened subsequently is, no doubt, a matter of contemporary history; but we all know how the true complexion of history can be adulterated 'to order' by subversive elements, seeking to cater for destructive forces—within and elsewhere—who, despite a period of over a quarter of a century, have not yet reconciled themselves to the existence of a free and sovereign Muslim homeland.

It is to negate such subtle moves that the Author—the former Baluch Ruler of Kalat—has taken upon himself the task of apprising the people of the region in particular, and the Pakistani nation in general, of the *true facts* of their history supported with official documents and signed legal instruments.

This Autobiography is, therefore, a highly valuable and authentic contribution to, and an enrichment of our history; and must, as such, be evaluated dispassionately in terms of factual case study of an antiquated tribal-based ethos and static institutions that are today in a steady process of fusing themselves into the dynamism of a new and healthy social order which the nation in the throes of its rebirth is attuning itself to in the religious hope of achieving a befitting place in the comity of progressive nations.

Talking or thinking conservatively in terms of regional or ethnic loyalties in this enlightened age of technological and all-round progress can prove suicidal to the very values which such conservatives deliberately pretend to uphold. The best means of preserving these loyalties is to re-orientate them within the embrace folds of the socio-economic structure that is fast shaping itself healthily in the country.

The need for group adaptation to changing conditions has always been the primary motive force for societies in their struggle for survival since time immemorial. Societies that

failed to acknowledge this unalterable law of nature have become extinct today. Likewise, a ruler, howsoever strong he may politically be, can never remain truly strong enough to be always the master unless, as Rousseau observes in *The Social Contract*: "he transforms might into right and obedience into duty".

This is what this Autobiography endeavours to convey to posterity.

M. Jaffer Hussain

Karachi:

3rd October, 1975.



THE AUTHOR

*Formerly Major His Highness Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, G.C.I.E.,
Baiglar Baigi, the Khan-e-Azam of Kalat.*

You pray in your distress and in your need; would that you might pray also in the fullness of your joy and in your days of abundance.

Khalil Gibran: *The (Holy) Prophet*

Prologue

"I begin in the name of God Who is the Sustainer and Nourisher [of the Universe]."

—:O:—

There is no God but [one] God; and Mohammad is His [last] Prophet (peace be upon him).

—:O:—

The entire praise is due to the Creator of the Universe and due to One [Mohammad—peace be upon him], who is the Blessing for the [entire] Universe.

GOD is the Creator of the universe. In this wordly life, He is the Sustainer; and in the life after death, He is the Nourisher. He is the Master having full power and suzerainty over the Day of Judgement. He is a Unity having no parallel to Him, no partner to Him, Indivisible, Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omniscient, the Creator, the Sustainer, the Nourisher, the Destroyer, the Giver of a new life after death. He is Ever Active, All Vigilant. He exists from infinity and shall always exist. He is free from all desires. He never sleeps, nor naps. He is the Controller of the universe. He never gets tired.

Oh Holy God! Thou merciful to all, Thou nearest of all. Thou art Omnipresent and All Powerful, Unconquerable. Oh Thou Omniscient! Everything in the universe is to return

to Thee. Thou listeneth to all, and knoweth the innermost secrets of everything. Thou hast given light to the bright Sun. Thou provideth food to the unborn child in the womb. Thou rejoineth the broken bones and giveth life anew. To whom Thou bestoweth respect, none can do any harm; and those who are dishonoured by Thee, have none to help them to be honoured again.

Thou hast revealed the Holy Books, such as the Quran, the Bible, the Taurait (old Testament) and the Zaboor, to Thy Prophets. Thou art the Creator of the light of the Mount Tur, the Secret Records, the Darkness, the Dawn, the Heaven and the Hell and everything contained in them. Thou art All Powerful, All Perfect.

Oh God! Thou art the Destroyer of the enemies of Thy beloved, Mohammad (peace be upon him). Thou hadst converted fire into rose-garden for Abraham, Thy friend; and saved Noah the Prophet from being drowned. Thou didst punish Pharoah against Moses. Thou didst save Christ from the hands of the tyrants. Thou pitied the tears of Jacob in his grief, and re-bestowed happiness on him. Thou didst give health to Jonah and freed him from the stomach of the whale in the deep darkness of the night. All proud men are humble before Thee. Thou art the Sustainer, and the Caretaker of all Thy creatures.

I, therefore, invoke Thy blessing and pray to Thee to grant me peace and succour. Thou art the most Merciful of all the merciful. Help me, Oh God, and guide me to serve Islam, the Baluches and the Muslims. Amen!

A.Y.B.

Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said:
This is my own, my native land!

Sir Walter Scott

Preface

ORIGINALLY the Baluches belong to the land of the Middle East, having been a single entity of common descent. The history of these brave people goes back to thousands of years. Their original abode was the valley of the Tigris in Syria. They trace their descent from Prophet Abraham.

They were divided into several tribes—nomads in character—rearing herds. Internal tribal feuds brought about frequent migrations of the defeated tribes. This continued for several centuries. The migrating tribes eventually left Aleppo for the north-eastern regions.

Before the advent of Islam, we come across the names of Kurd and Baluch—the two brothers, each of whom was the head of his own tribe. As a result of fraternal feuds, Kurd and his followers migrated to Syria, Iran, and spread over a belt from Turkey to Mongolia. Baluch as well had to migrate from the homeland due to paucity of rains, resulting in famines. He along with his tribe entered Iran, and settled down in the green valleys of Mount Al-Burz. Nausherwan, the then Kiswa of Iran, vehemently resented this unauthorized occupation of his territory, and attacked the unwanted guests.

The Baluches, thus uprooted from Iran, advanced towards another part of the world now called Baluchistan. A part of the followers of Baluch had stayed behind in the Aleppo Valley. They were ultimately driven away by the Omyyads, as they had incurred the wrath of the ruler for not siding with them in the war against Imam Hussain, the grandson of the Holy Prophet.

This last group of the Baluches, thus forced to migrate from their ancestral abode, the Aleppo Valley, moved out and spread over a belt of the sea-coast extending over the Gulf of Persia, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon.

The groups of Baluches, who after their first migration had settled in the valley of Mount Al-Burz, were forced to migrate once again from there. They passed through Turan and Seistan with Mir Ibrahim, their leader; and finally came to Kalat under the leadership of Mir Qambar Ali Khan. This group came to be known as 'Brahimi' after the name of Mir Ibrahim. 'Brahimi' is presently being pronounced as 'Brahui' due to the influence of the local dialect.

After the death of Nausherwan, the glory of Persia was dimmed. This was the time when the Sun of Islam rose; and the Holy Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him), was born at Mecca.

The Baluches have inherited all the noble qualities of the Arabs. They are warlike, very brave, and regard martyrdom for a righteous cause as an honour beyond death. They are very chivalrous towards women-folk, kind to guests, and very sensitive to promises honourably made.

Due to their peculiar characteristics, the Baluches could not adjust themselves in the Iranian social order.

Baluchistan suited them most. From this new homeland of theirs, they invaded Makran. The Moghuls were given full support by the Baluches in their invasion of Kalat and the valley of Sorab, then under occupation of the Sivai Hindus. Unfortunately, however, the Moghuls having gone back on their promises, the Baluches drove them out and took the reins of administration in their own hands.

At the time of my great-grandfather, the Baluches were the masters of the region comprising Kalat and its neighbourhood. Within a short time, however, the boundaries of Baluch khandom expanded so much that by the time of my grandfather, Khan-e-Azam Mir Nasir Khan, the whole of Baluchistan and also some other Baluch areas came under his control. The Khan-e-Azam Mir Nasir Khan's rule is considered to be the most glorious period of the Baluches. Kalat has all along occupied the most important place in the body politic of the Baluches.

Geographically, Baluchistan holds an important position on the map of Asia. It is this geographical position of the country that has made the inhabitants lead a strenuous life, for they had to face powerful enemies, more often in defensive wars. It is on record that the Baluches were at war one time or another of their history with the Shah of Iran, Afghanistan, the Sikhs of the Punjab, and the rulers of Sind, and the British.

By the time it fell upon me to shoulder the responsibility of Baluch leadership, Baluchistan no longer enjoyed the glory, prestige and power it had in the time of the late Khan-e-Azam Mir Nasir Khan Noori.

The Baluches had fallen under the foreign yoke of the British rule. The country was divided into several parts. Consequently, the people were politically degenerated into

living in total misery and poverty. One section of the exploiters, however, was busy reaping the harvest for their own mean and selfish motives at the cost of national misery and degeneration.

I had to face a lot of difficult situations and problems during the period from 1936 to 1948. These were created by the alien rulers (the British) solely to foil my reforms which aimed at the rejuvenation of the people. By the grace of the All Merciful God, I succeeded in removing all the hurdles one by one with full and active co-operation of my people, as will be seen in the text.

To relate some of the reforms, I may mention that maladministration and corruption in the body politic were rooted out. For the first time in the history of Baluchistan, the people were given representation in the affairs of national interest by the establishment of two Houses of Legislature—*Darul Awam* and *Darul Umra*—with a total membership of 87. The Department of Justice was reorganized in the light of Islamic *Shariat*. Several of the heavy taxes were abolished; and the practice of *begaar* system (labour without payment) was also done away with.

The Hindu-Muslim struggle for freedom from the yoke of the Britishers was in full swing during these crucial years. The Hindus and the Muslims of united India, under the respective leadership of Mr. Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, were striving hard to gain liberty. The fight of Muslims for establishing Pakistan—the sovereign Islamic State—comprising the regions of Muslim majority in the north-western areas of India, had reached its climax. We the Baluches did not lag behind, and took full part in the struggle, supporting Muslim brethren materially and morally

against the Hindus, the British, and also some Muslims who were against the creation of Pakistan.

By the grace of the Almighty, the biggest Muslim State—Pakistan—came into existence on the map of the world on the 14th August, 1947. Kalat was the first to enter into an agreement with Pakistan—ten days before the actual declaration—whereas the other Indian Muslim States were still watching silently.

I remember that auspicious day which eventually became fateful, when on August 4, 1947 a treaty of 'Stand Still Agreement' concluded between Kalat and Pakistan, was signed by myself, the Quaid-e-Azam and the British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten. On the strength of this fateful agreement, power was transferred from the British to Pakistan; and Pakistan got all the Baluch areas of Baluchistan.

The Quaid-e-Azam, however, was not destined to live longer after fulfilling his mission of creating Pakistan. His passing away was a bolt from the blue to the Muslims. The reins of leadership fell into the hands of those who had neither the vision nor the political wisdom equal to that of the Founder of Pakistan. The insulting treatment Baluch Government received at their hands was least expected of them. Lasbela and Kharan were two vassals under Kalat State; and Makran was just a district, since the time of Nasir Khan-I (1751-94); with half of its revenue permanently assigned to Kalat. But the Government of Pakistan raised their status to the level of separate States and thus divided the historically known Kalat State into four pieces.

Moreover, this unwise action of Pakistan Government against Kalat and the Baluches, set an example for Bharat; and in fact, the Bhartis did not lose the opportunity to run

over Hyderabad, Junagadh and Manavadar, and even the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Afghanistan from the very beginning developed hostile attitude towards Pakistan. In fact, the very existence of Pakistan was jeopardized. Hence, in view of the ugly designs of India, I declared the accession of Kalat with Pakistan and signed the document on March 30, 1948. Consequently on April 15, 1948, the administration of Kalat was handed over to a Vazir-e-Ala-cum-Political Agent. Thus ended the 500-year Baluch rule in this part of the Subcontinent.

In 1958, I was arrested and imprisoned. Soon after my arrest Sikander Mirza, the then President of Pakistan, declared Martial Law throughout Pakistan; and consequently Ayub Khan came into power as a result of a military coup. Thousands of Baluches were massacred and their villages ruined.

To-day we are said to be the most down-trodden and backward people on the face of the world. This is because we have forgotten the teaching of the Quran: "God never changes the condition of a people unless they change it (have the will to change) for themselves." To think that others will do the job for ourselves is to live in fool's paradise.

Our mission is two-fold: firstly, unity in our rank and file; all Baluches irrespective of their tribal affinity must stand united and shake off their internal tribal feuds, and work ceaselessly in strengthening Pakistan which is our homeland on a broader plane. Secondly, we must be sound financially. Our area is rich in mineral wealth which only awaits proper development. There is also no dearth of suitable and qualified men. What is needed is only the will to achieve success.

In this book, the reader will find how I introduced

democracy; laws of *Shariat*; setting up of Darul-Awam and Darul Umra for people's representation in the Government; and finally how I took over all the administrative power as well as control of the Sardars of the region from the British. I am as much alive to the problems and responsibilities that face we Pakistanis today as I was at the time of my coronation.

I may here quote from an original address presented to me by Baluch Sardars and dignitaries and citizens on 27th January, 1935:

"... We the Sardars, the dignitaries and citizens assure you on behalf of our followers, dependents and ourselves, of our full faith and confidence in your leadership. We would remain faithful to you in the same manner and degree as our forefathers were in the past to the Khan-e-Azam of the blessed memory and his ancestors.

"As per this resolution, we hereby declare unanimously that we have full confidence in your leadership, and earnestly beseech your honour to bestow upon us the favour of your benign leadership, following in the foot-steps of your ancestors."

I am proud of the fact that the Baluches chose me as their 'Khan'—their leader. "My motto has always been service to my people and the Pakistani nation." In their suffering, I must suffer. I have ever since been upholding the best Baluch traditions, and even courted arrest and imprisonment in defence of the interests and honour of my people. To me no sacrifice would be too great to see my compatriots marching shoulder to shoulder with the nation towards the glorious destiny that awaits in the womb of time.

Inside Baluchistan

The casual reader of this book will come across tales of peace and war, stories of sacrifices, as also inhuman and shameful conduct of tyrants and traitors. By bringing out this fully documented book, I wish to acquaint my Pakistani brethren with the true history of Baluchistan, and also our humble contribution in the creation of Pakistan, and in upholding the banner of the prestige and honour of Islam.

Lastly, I must apologise to my people—the Baluches—for anything which I might have said or done to cause them displeasure. As a matter of fact, I have acted upon the best Baluch tradition of speaking nothing but truth without any hesitation, fear or favour.

Ahmad Yar Baluch

17th September, 1975
Aiwan-e-Baluch
Karachi

PART ONE

... This fortress built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea.

Shakespeare : *Richard II*

Chapter 1

The Land

BALUCHISTAN—the land of my ancestral kingdom—
with all its beauty and unsophisticated charms, is, and
will always remain, an inseparable link in the chain of
time and space, connecting historical ancience with modern
concepts of socio-political survival. I have watched this land
of my birth as well as of the birth of my kingdom, as a
carefree boy and son of its soil; as a responsible army
officer; and ultimately as its sovereign ruler.

Its green valleys with a natural majesty of their own;
its snow-capped mountains with a luring beauty of scenic
wildness untamed; and the desolate charms of its barren
deserts, will always remain a “joy for ever” with me, to
quote Keats. Like all beautiful things endowed by the Creator,
it fills me with an appeasing sense of pride to reflect on how
this geographic piece of Divine bounty came into existence.

The origin of this land, according to experts in the
field, is traceable to the third geological period of the Earth's
formation, technically termed as the Tertiary period. The
Himalayas had then risen out of the Tethys Sea along with

an expanse of region which later on, like the Himalaya, formed itself into this tract of land via continual stratification of crusts upon crusts through these countless centuries. Baluchistan is thus a junior offspring in a geological sense; but geographically, it is essentially an extension of the Himalayan range heading towards the west.

The sedimentary nature of the mountains in Baluchistan is no doubt a proof of its marine origin. In a wordless language, they seem to declare:

"... We have sprung from the mother-womb of the sea. We are the product of the accumulation of mud upon sea-bed, from where we emerged out to stand toweringly upon dry land."

One can also notice volcanic traces on the sedimentary rocks on the cliffs in the Chagai and Kharan regions in Baluchistan. There are numerous craters or extinct volcanoes, called *Darya-e-Chashm*, lying along the coastline from Sonmiani to Jask. As a matter of fact, this whole region mirrors the devastation caused by periodic eruptions of volcanoes.

The topographical features of West Baluchistan (Makran) are physically similar to those of Iran. In actual fact, this terrain is a continuation of the Iranian plateau projecting out towards the south. These sedimentary rocks with clear layers of soft-stones, sand-stones and shells indicate their origin in the period between the Mesozoic and the Tertiary.

The mountain ranges from north-south, parallel to 66.15° longitude, are known to have developed from underground earth. The western mountains are Permian in formation and

carboniferous in character, while the eastern range is Oligocene (Flysch). The hills around Hamun are of this geological age, and hence are calcareous. Also, there are noticeable layers of shale on the eastern range, and are, therefore, fossiliferous. Here we find Triassic, Jurassic and Cretaceous rocks and big fossils of the Tertiary phase.

In the eastern part of Baluchistan, from Takht-e-Sulaiman to the coast of Makran, and from the north of the Punjab and Sind, there is a range of Jura Mountains presenting acute and obtuse angular fronts. Many peaks of the Triassic age sloping towards the plain are scattered all over with watery rocks, like those of the Triassic and Oligocene ages in a crumbling state.

The desert west of Baluchistan, where water is to be found at distant places, is of Oligocene and Miocene ages, and consists of sand-stone, earth and shale. The desert in the north spreads from Hamun to Chagai. Layers of rocks of the Triassic age exist in Makran range in the south, and in the oblique range of hills in Ormara, Pasni and Gwadar. The rocks here have been classified as sedimentary type with an intermediary interference of volcanic age, particularly in the desert of Chagai where pre-Triassic rocks and lavas are found mixed with middle-Triassic rocks, bearing signs of subsequent compositions during post-Triassic period as well as modern-age sands and lavas. There was once a pass here which is now broken; but it has left a vast bed of sulphur in the Sultan, Toftan and the Bazman hills.

The hills and ground in the Marri-Bugti region, however, belong to a more modern age. On the slopes of these hills, and below them, there are stones some two thousand feet thick, covered with a layer of conglomerates reaching a

depth of about 5,000 feet below ground-level. For this reason it is difficult to obtain water in this region.

In area, Baluchistan is the largest of all the provinces of Pakistan. Situated between 27.54° and 32.41° latitudes, and between 60.55° and 40.15° longitudes, this province had an area of 137,000 square miles in 1951. Subsequently, however, the Government of Pakistan purchased the region of Gwadar, measuring 307 square miles, from Muscat and annexed it to Baluchistan. Thus, the total area of this province is now 137,307 square miles, which should also include the area of Nasirabad Tehsil.

Baluchistan has a coastline of 471 miles fronting the Arabian Sea in the south. In the north, the districts of Chagai, Quetta and Zhob make a border of 723 miles with Afghanistan. On the west, the districts of Makran, Kharan and western Chagai make another border of 520 miles with Iran.

For the purpose of administration, Baluchistan is divided into the following nine districts:

1. Chagai
2. Makran
3. Lasbela
4. Kalat
5. Quetta
6. Pishin
7. Sibi
8. Kharan
9. Loralai and Zhob

The District Headquarters are respectively: Nushki, Turbat, Uthal, Dhadar, Quetta, Sibi and Fort Sandeman.

Physical Features

For a topographic study, Baluchistan can be divided into four main regions:

- (i) Upper mountain-ranges of middle and mid-eastern Baluchistan.
- (ii) Hilly regions comprising the slopes of the Pab Range in the east; and the slopes of the ranges in Makran, Kharan and Chagai in the west.
- (iii) The region of Plains including the triangular plain composed by Kachhi, western Lasbela and Dasht regions.
- (iv) Desert region which includes numerous sand-hills, and the rocky region in the north-west.

The desert region of Makran is virtually an extension of the Badia-e-Iran, which the Arabs refer to as 'Mughara'. Badia-e-Iran cuts obliquely through the region from north-west to south-west, dividing fertile provinces into two parts. From the Al-burz Mountains on the Caspian Sea, this Badia then proceeds to the dry hills in Makran. The length of this desert thus works out to about 800 miles with a comparatively narrow breadth of 100 miles. This region separates Kirman from Seistan. The northern and southern parts are, however, broader; and at certain points wider than 200 miles. This desert, which is currently called 'Lut' or *Dasht-e-Lut* is interspersed with salt-water at various places. These reaches of salt-water are commonly called *Murdabi*, though sometimes the entire desert is referred to as *Kawir*. In a general way, *Kawir* is also used for all deserts.

Arab geographers of the Middle Ages have called this desert as *Ghafara* (literally meaning a deserted tract of land);

and have described its boundaries in sufficient details. To the west and south-west of this desert lie the provinces of Kirman, Jabal and Yazd, which originally formed a part of the province of Fars. In the south of Kirman, this region stretches upto the coast of Makran. To the east and north-east, there was Khurasan with its subsidiary provinces. That is, to the north of the desert lay Qumis adjacent to a corner of the main part of Khurasan. Joined to it was Kohistan; and south of it was Sajistan (Seistan) over the narrow part of the desert of Kirman. Initially Sajistan, or Seistan, has the same boundaries as of the desert of Baluchistan of today. It was in the Middle Ages that it became a part of Makran.

Ibne Hauqal and Muqaddasi have given a factual description of 'Mughara' based on personal experience, for both had crossed this desert several times. About half a century after Muqaddasi, *i.e.*, in 1004 A.D., Nasir Khusrau had crossed the northern part of 'Mughara' while on his way back from Haj. He, however, did not give any name to this desert, but called it simply as "The Desert" and "Land without Water". Nevertheless, he has pointed out two main characteristics of this desert region; one: the shifting sand, *i.e.*, the flight of sand from place to place in the form of dunes; and two, the wet lands of salt, or 'Shoristan', spread over at distances of six *farsangs* (six leagues).

Mountains

Baluchistan is primarily a mountainous country. Its mountains and valleys are expressive of an individuality of their own. The slopes of the mountains, scattered far and wide with stones of all shapes and lustre, remind the observer of the volcanic eruptions that had spilled



The historic Bolan Pass.



Tribal vigilance at the strategic Bolan Pass (from a Painting)

THE LAND

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out their molten fury during the ages gone by. Like the mother who blesses and showers her love upon her children after a period of anger with them, these valleys and landscapes at the foot of the mountains and along river courses, too, have received their share of mother-nature's blessing in the form of layers upon layers of rich alluvial deposits of fertile earth, giving the region a substantial power for productivity in agriculture and livestock.

The Hala (Brahuk) Mountain is a prominent member of a very dry range of mountains. It was so named by Henry Pottinger in 1816, though it has several other local names also, for instance, Tukri. This is a range of Hala in the north passing through the upland of Saravan, which separates Kachhi from Saravan. Then, at a distance in the south, upto the latitude 26°N , this range assumes the name of Kirthar Range. When it comes near the sea, it becomes Pab. Similarly, its western range is called by different names at different places, namely Harboi, Nagao, Dunwara and Hara. The last two ranges, separating Lasbela from Makran, advance towards the coast and gradually merge into the Arabian Sea. One of the branches rises from the sea and proceeds westwards in south-westerly direction; and after passing through the coasts of Makran, gradually loses itself in the mountain ranges of eastern Iran.

The Sulaiman and Hala Mountains are but the branches of the Hindukush. This is apparent from the fact that their height decreases gradually as they advance towards the south. The height of the Irak Pass in the north at the place called Bamian is 13,000 feet above sea-level, with one peak standing 18,000 feet above sea-level. This height decreases to 11,000 feet near Quetta. The Shal valley is at a height of 5,900 feet

above sea-level. As one proceeds to Kalat from here, the ground-level gradually increases, reaching a height of 7,000 feet above sea-level, *i.e.*, 1,100 feet above the ground-level of Quetta. The mountains in the north are comparatively less dry. Here one can see wild olive trees and a sturdy growth of bushes and green grass.

In the vicinity of Fort Sandeman and Loralai, the mountains are dry compared to their branches in the south and south-west; namely, for instance, the three branches of the Sulaiman Mountain which extend upto the central region of Loralai. Of these three, the northern branch is known as 'Daman-e-Ghar'; the middle as 'Kurd' and 'Gadabur'; and the southern as 'Sialo' and 'Dabur'. The main mountain ranges in Baluchistan are as under:

Sulaiman Mountain

With a total length of about 250 miles, it separates Baluchistan from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces. Its highest peak, called Takht-e-Sulaiman, stands towering with its height of 11,295 feet, presenting a scenic charm of its own, extending from north to south. It consists mainly of sedimentary rocks with multi-coloured and multi-shaped stones, though one can notice chalk and sward beds also at some places. This range, which extends from Dera Ismail Khan in the north to Sui (Dera Bugti) in the south, is very difficult to cross.

Toba-Kakar Range

This mountain range with a length of 300 miles determines the boundary of Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

Hala Range

This Middle Brahui range measuring 200 miles in length surrounds the northern part of Jhalawan and Sarawan (Kalat) and extends further on. It has three high peaks, namely: Khalifat (11,610 ft.); Zarghoon (11,378 ft.); and Tataku (11,375 ft.). As one looks towards the western horizon, a blue line of mountains meets the eye, extending from north to south. This is one of the branches of Hala, and its local name is Chiltan (Chehal-tan), the rugged beauty of which has inspired local as well as other poets to eulogize its natural charms in their poems and verses. So singular is the individuality of Chiltan that it has come to be regarded as a symbol of Baluchistan's scenic beauty with a touch of sublimity in the romantic view it offers to the onlooker. Many are the stories and legends associated with this alluring creation of nature.

Kirthar Range

This range of mountains totalling 190 miles is the dividing line between Jhalawan and Sind. The highest peak here is 7,340 feet above sea-level. The hills are mostly composed of regular-shaped and shining white rocks of lime, sloping almost at right angles. The surfaces of these peaks are, however, level.

The Pab Range

Measuring about 190 miles, this group of mountains stands in the south-east corner of Jhalawan with the highest peak, Phraz, confronting the landscape with its height of 7,759 feet above the sea-level. Sedimentary rocks and mineral stores are the striking features of this range. In the region near the cape of Monze this range presents a beautiful view

of its shapely crevices. The valley of Hala, which abounds in wild animals, runs parallel to this range.

Chagai Range

Totalling 90 miles in length, this group of hills in the north of Chagai district assumes the form of broken, crumbling and scattered mountain-walls with subsidiary branches and ranges. Some of these ranges are classed as 'anticlines' and 'synclines' by geological experts. The more important among them is the Sultan Mountain with its height of some 7,654 feet above sea-level. According to an estimate worked out by experts, this mountain is the product of volcanic eruptions that exploded in the north of Baluchistan about 30,000 years ago. It is thus an extinct volcano with multi-coloured rocks. The beautiful colours and countless shades which the rocks bear is ascribed to periodic stratified solidification of lava as a result of intermittent volcanic eruptions. This mountain is well-known for its marble of fine superior quality.

Of the three ranges of Chagai, namely Sultan, Toftan and Bazman, the first is within Pakistan; while the other two fall within Iran. These three ranges are, however, allied to one another, and bear considerable stores of sulphur.

Ras Mountain

This is situated on the south of the Chagai Mountain, and runs over 170 miles in length. Its local rise is 8,699 feet above sea-level, and comprises wholly of a range of multiple layers of volcanic rocks.

Siahan Range

These mountains, with a length of 175 miles, serve as the dividing line between Kharan and Makran districts,

and are connected with the Jhalawan Range. The rocks, which are similar to the sedimentary group, are broken and cut by water, and present a picturesque view with the upper layers bedecked with shapely spots of hue and shape, almost geometric in their placements.

Makran Mountains

These comprise of two ranges: The Central Makran Range and the Makran Coast Range, each of these running to a length of 280 miles. While the former lies in the hinterland of Makran, the latter stands on the coast of the Arabian Sea. The rocks on both the mountains are of sedimentary kind and are water-cut.

Rivers

There is no 'river' in Baluchistan in the accepted sense of the word. There are only mountain-springs that assume the form of mountain runnels or brooks, and pursue their course for some distance, after which they get lost underground only to reappear, and then again disappear at set places. The Bolan River is one such example of riverine hide-and-seek. There are also many springs which are known to flow underground from Kalat to the Arabian Sea. The reasons for this phenomena are said to be perviousness of the earth in this region, and lack of rain.

Following are the directions of flow of rivers in Baluchistan:

- (i) The southern rivers flow down towards the sea.
- (ii) The western rivers glide up towards the desert of Lut, and towards Makran.
- (iii) The eastern rivers flow towards the Indus, where they merge with it, or join any of its tributaries.

It is thus interesting to note that the pattern of the flow of rivers in Baluchistan seemingly negates the law of physics, according to which 'water flows down a slope'. Inscrutable indeed are the ways of nature!

The waters flowing from Kalat form one of the principal tributaries of the Lora River which they join in the Pishin valley. From here the Lora streams forth towards south-west and west towards the big Lake Zara in Seistan, but gets lost in the sandy desert region near Nushki. Such is also the termination of all the minor rivers flowing westward between Nushki and the Arabian Sea.

In order to locate the rivers that fall into the Indus, one may draw a line from Shal valley to Khuzdar; and another line along the course of River Baghbana, joining it to the Manchar Lake in the south-east. The rivers that flow between these two lines are the ones that fall into the great Indus. Two important rivers of Jhalawan, namely Purali and Urnach start from the lowland region of Wad, about 33 miles south of Khuzdar, and flow towards the south. Twining their way through several places they unite with each other, making a large confluence of their watery union. From Bela onwards, this joint river which is called Purali resumes its course in the southern direction, falling ultimately into the sea some miles south of Sonmiani after winding its way through the western terrain. Purali is 150 miles long; and like the Urnach, it usually remains dry. The dry bed, however, fills up with flowing water when it rains on the hills. In the rainy season, particularly, the flow is rather furious, making it hazardous to cross it.

Another river, Hab, rises from the Pab Mountain in the south. Flowing southwards, it falls into the sea at a

distance of about 20 miles from Karachi. The other main rivers of Baluchistan are as under:

- (i) **Zhob** (240 miles) rises from the east of Pishin. Its source is an over-running spring. After coursing through 45 miles of mountain tracts, it emerges on the plains. Its water, however, cannot be easily utilized for irrigation, for the banks on both the sides are too high to permit it.
- (ii) **Nari** (300 miles), also called Anamber and Beji, flows through the western regions of Sibi and Kachhi.
- (iii) **Bolan** has its source in the mountains near Kolpur. Its water appears on the surface of the ground near the place called Sarbolan, but disappears underground at Abegum, only to reappear once again at some distance further. The Sarawan River makes union with this river at Bibi Nani, from where onwards it never dries up. Even during the summers one can see a clear sheet of cool and sweet water.
- (iv) **Pishinlora** (250 miles) takes its source from the Toba-Kakar Range. Passing through Pishin and western Sarawan, it turns towards Nushki where, as it proceeds, its water is absorbed finally in the desert.
- (v) **Mula** (180 miles) commences from its source in the north of the Pab Range. It passes by Golang, Pirchatar and Paniwan. Further on, its tributary, Durgi, meets it; and the river then proceeds towards the south through Karzan, and further south through Nar and Nusawi, reaching Nauling. Here

it is joined by its other tributaries, Lahadoo and Wall. From the place called Reka, this conjoint river turns its course in a south-westerly direction, reaching Pir Loto shrine. From here it turns to south-east; and after passing by Branji, Kundi, Gur and the waters at the places called Musk and Sharaf, it finally falls into the Arabian Sea.

Mula is a perennial river. Its water, with a certain amount of chalk content, is strikingly clear and sweet in the mountain regions, but turns a shade dirty in the south.

- (vi) **Hab** (240 miles) has its source in the north of the Pab Range. Like other rivers flowing towards the coast, this river also falls into the Arabian Sea.
- (vii) **Purali** (175 miles) with its source at Jhandarbagh, about 8 or 9 miles from Wad in Jhalawan, flows towards the south in the form of a small spring, and falls into the Arabian Sea near Sonmiani. Though commencing as a small spring, this river broadens itself to about one mile near Bela in the Lasbela district, where its water is found all the year round at a low ebb, becoming fuller in the rainy seasons. Its water is, however, saline in nature.
- (viii) **Hingol** (358 miles) is a conglomerate of waters from western Jhalawan and south-west Makran, and flows from Kurragi to fall into the Arabian Sea. Since it traverses through a number of mountain gorges, its water is neither soaked by the ground nor does it dry up. As a result, its water-area abounds in the region between Kurragi and the Arabian Sea.

- (ix) **Rakhshan** (258 miles) originates from the meeting point of the Siahan and Makran Ranges near the Nadoki Pass. It rises from its source south-west of Shiraz; and by virtue of its acclivous nature, gets above the ground in the Nadoki Pass where it is called Nag, and flows south-west. At a point near the Nag-e-Kalat a mountain runnel meets it; and from here Rakhshan twines off towards west-south-west, and gets parallel to the Siahan Range in the valley.

It is noteworthy that Rakhshan in Nag-e-Kalat, where it is called Nag, assumes the form of a lake, from where five *kurjues* have been cut. Its water at some places near Panjgur has taken the shape of tanks. The water, thus collected, is used for irrigation, because the banks of the river are not too high.

Panjgur is a green and productive town of the Rakhshan valley which abounds in big oases on both sides of the river. About 250 different varieties of dates are found in these oases, the best kinds being the varieties known as *Begum Jangi* and *Mazawati*.

In the west of Panjgur, the Rakhshan River meets other rivers, namely Mazan and Shitag from the west; River Iskani from the east; and the mountain river, Gwargo, from the south. Passing through the Panjgur valley, the Rakhshan also meets the Maskhel.

The banks of River Rakhshan are not high,

being only one foot here, and are covered with a thick growth of grass, bushes, and *Gaz* and *Kahoor*.

- (x) **Dasht** (255 miles) breaks through from Awaran to lower Gokfarosh to fall into the Arabian Sea, carrying with it the waters of West Makran. Its delta is very vast and wide. The Dasht is essentially a rain-fed river, though its waters can be seen throughout the year in the form of natural tanks at some places. It overflows during rainy seasons, thereby watering the valley that carries its name. A substantial growth of *Kahoor* and *Gaz* trees can be found surrounding the tanks this river forms. A peculiar variety of grass, called 'Drar', also grows here against a background of flowing pink and white flowers of *Jaur*.

- (xi) **Mahang** has its source in Saprom. It passes between Zamuran and Bampusht, and the boundary between West Makran and Iranian Makran. Turning to the south, near Tump, it widens itself appreciably dividing its water into small tanks which are used all the year round for irrigation. Advancing from Tump, it heads forth towards Aspekhan, meeting the Tagran and Gulbar rivers on its way. One of the tributaries of Mahang is the River Mandikur which flows through the region of Mand. The banks of River Mahang near Saprom abound in pistachio trees with a profuse growth of *Kahoor* and *Gaz* trees and wild grass.

- (xii) **Gishkur** river is virtually a drain-source for the waters of the north-western valley of Bulida (Makran) and the mountain ranges of Makran. Its

tributaries are Guzbustan, Pirikur and Shatab. Gishkur is not always full; and the bed is almost dry at various places, though at certain places it has water-reserves in big natural tanks. Near the valley of Bulida, however, it develops a fairly robust flow of water but goes unutilized, for cultivable land is scarce on its banks.

- (xiii) **Kilkur** or **Kulkur** is a watery union of several runnels, of which Gudri, Zaham and Dur are the chief ones. They come out of the ranges between Goran, Khadag and upper Kolwah. It has a forest of *Kahoor* and *Gaz* in certain regions, particularly near Kolwah. *Zools* are also found in the forests and on the river sides.

- (xiv) **Kechkur** has the waters of Gishkur and Kulkur. It is narrow and deep, nearly 35 feet, near Sami; but near Turbat, its bed is more than a mile in breadth. This river swells up occasionally, causing destructive floods. In 1870, its devastating flood had completely wrecked the capital of Kech-Miri and its suburbs. The Kechkur has, however, now left its old course, and taken a new one.

There is a nice oasis near Miri; and the land here is very fertile with very good *Karezes* which provide enough water for irrigation.

Besides these foregoing rivers, there are many more mountain runnels and streams, namely Shadikur (50 miles), Basul (80 miles), Jau, Gowargo, Gechak, Raghi (60 miles), and Tonk (13 miles) in the district of Makran; and in the Kalat district, we have Urnach, Sarsang, Maskhel, Nai,

Sur, and Mula; while in the Loralai district there is the Toilung, Loni, Han and Anambar, all of which are full of water during the rains.

CLIMATE

There is a great contrast of climates within Baluchistan with its general scarcity of water. In general, the climate is dry with only a few inches of annual rainfall; and in the districts of Makran and Kalat, there is no rain at all for several years at a stretch.

Northern Baluchistan has severe winters, and temperate summers. In contrast, the southern region is extremely hot in summers; and the climate during winters is normally tolerable. Nushki, Sibi and Dhadar are very hot regions with the temperature ranging between 100° to 125°F. In Makran, too, except Panjgur, summers are very hot; but winters provide a pleasant climate.

Valleys situated at 3,000 to 7,000 feet above sea-level are freezing cold with heavy snowfalls and thick fog. The spring season, however, is very pleasant with a riot of wild flowers adding to the scenic calm of the surrounding atmosphere. The summers also are braceful.

It can thus be said in general terms that summers, which last from April to September in places situated in the mountainous regions, are quite pleasant; but the winters are so severe that people are compelled to move over to the moderate plains of Kachhi.

The hottest places in Baluchistan are Sibi, Dhadar and Turbat; while the coldest ones are Singhar (Zhob), Ziarat, Quetta and Kalat. The plains of Kachhi are very hot in

summers and very cold in winters, though not as severe as in the northern mountainous regions. Lasbela and Bailpat also have a similar climate.

The average rainfall in Baluchistan ranges between 3 to 12 inches. Speaking in comparative terms, the climate of the province is that of the Temperate Zone; and the climate in the uplands is similar to that of Iran.

VEGETATION

The mountains in Baluchistan are dry for a major part of the year. The north-eastern hills, however, are covered with bushes, thorny plants, wild flowers and grass during the spring season. At heights between 500 to 6,000 feet, the Ephedra herb is found in abundance. This herb, which is a very valuable item in the pharmaceutical and chemical industries, is exported to the extent of about 1,000 tons annually.

Baluchistan has a forest area of about 2,200 square miles; but by virtue of its climate, as described above, these forests lack in trees of great height. In the wide expanse of mountains west of Shal, there is a big coniferous forest of Juniper which provides wood for fuel. The Shal valley has pine trees; but these are neither very tall nor good enough in quality for woodwork.

The valleys and plains in this province are not suited for afforestation. Nevertheless, these regions provide a substantial growth of mulberry and apricot trees, but their wood is not of the standards required for house-building purposes. Although *Deodar*, *Saresh*, *Sombal* and *Neem* trees can be grown in this region, for the present the date tree is the only source which provides material for building purposes. Cut into two, vertically, its trunk is used as a

girder for roof-covering with its leaves, in place of the conventional tiles.

Juniper: Juniper cedar is found in Baluchistan at heights ranging between 6,500 to 8,500 feet above sea-level, where there are natural water springs, or where there is a heavy snowfall on the hills of limestone or limestone pounded with other stones. Thick forests of Juniper are found in regions at heights between 7,000 to 8,500, like the districts of Ziarat, Quetta, Pishin, Loralai and Zhob, where under the shadow of Juniper trees, *Prunus* of urnea and corragoma also grow. There are several local names for Juniper, like *Apurs* (Appurz), *Dhop*, *Hushki*, *Shur*, etc.

Pistachio: This tree, which is next in importance to Juniper, is found at heights between 3,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea-level, where the earth is inter-mixed with sandstone. These trees, whose growth is very slow, are scattered far apart. Their value is because of the fruits they yield. Like other trees, the pistachio tree, too, bears many local names, such as *Khahhar*, *Karkar*, *Karkursingi*, etc. Quetta and Pishin districts are noted for pistachio plantations.

Pinus Gevardiane: This is a coniferous tree belonging to the genus pinus, whose wood is valuable in timber and chemical industries. Large forests of these tall and tapering trees are found in Zhob at elevations ranging between 6,000 to 12,000 feet above sea-level. Their fruit is exported on a large scale, fetching fair amounts of foreign exchange. Another specie of pinus Gevardiane, called pinus Excelse, is also found at heights of 8,000 to 11,000 feet.

Wild Olive: Wild olive or *Olea Cuspidata* is a tree of average height, and is found at heights between 6,000 to

6,500 feet, particularly on the northern mountain ranges in the districts of Zhob and Loralai. Its green fruit, locally called *Shnay*, is a little bigger than black pepper, and very delicious to eat. This wild fruit, which takes its name after its shiny green colour, is also eaten as a dry fruit, and is considered conducive to male virility.

Temarisk: Also known as *Gaz*, this is usually found on river-banks or along water passages. It is more proper to call it a 'river tree'. It is normally used as fuel-wood.

Asafoetida: It is a plant of *Hing* (Hingara/Hingru), and abounds in the regions where the climate is hotter.

Pesh Mazri: This is a kind of small palm, the leaves of which are fan-shaped. It is not higher than 3 to 4 feet, and is found in abundant concentrations in the districts of Makran, Kharan, Chagai, Lasbela and Sibi. Its sturdy leaves are commonly used for making *Chappals* (footwear), baskets and mats, and are also employed for weaving house-roofs and huts. It is a great boon particularly in dry areas, for when there is no water at hand, and one needs to slake his throat, the kernel of this tree provides the required moisture.

Besides the foregoing trees, *Hyssop* or *Zufa Yabis* plants are also found in abundance. There are two other species of trees, namely *Cumin* and *Rhubuarb*, which were once in abundance, but are presently becoming progressively rare.

AGRICULTURE

As stated earlier, Baluchistan has a very meagre rainfall of 3 to 12 inches in a year; and there are some regions which get no rain at all for years in succession. As such, agriculture

is pursued mainly in those regions in the province where facilities of irrigation exist. The means of irrigation in Baluchistan are, naturally, its mountain springs, rivers, and the underground water store from which *Karez*es are cut. The *nallah* (channel) dug out from a river for the purpose of irrigation is called *Abeju*.

Most of the cultivated lands, both in the mountainous regions as well as in the plains depend upon rains. Therefore, water of those places which have rains in summer is stored up and channelized for irrigation. For this purpose, dams are built on all small and big rivers throughout the province.

The soil in the mountain regions is sandy while the lower regions and the plains have a soft soil that can easily be kneaded. Tracts of sandy soil are scarce in these lower regions. Despite this, however, a very little part of available land is cultivated. According to official figures, the total area of plain-land in Baluchistan is stated to be 47 million acres, of which only 4.5 million acres of land are under cultivation. Water scarcity is the chief obstacle in the way of progress of agriculture in this province; hence vast expanses of fertile land remain dry and uncultivated, though during the rains one sees a radiant greenery on these unused expanses.

Agriculture in Baluchistan is of three kinds: one, *Khushk-aba*, i.e., agriculture on lands which become cultivable after rains or snowfalls; two, *Sailaba*, i.e., on lands rendered cultivable due to floods in the rivers during the monsoons; and three, on lands where there is a perennial supply of water through permanent irrigation system. Such lands are no doubt sufficient to cope with the meagre population of 2.5 million in the province, and are fed throughout the year by means of *Karez*es, *Abeju*es, rivers, springs, canals and wells; but if

other water-starved, but fertile, areas of farmable land are brought under cultivation by sophisticated methods through modern fertilizers, tube-wells, tractors and Joint Farming Schemes, Baluchistan could well turn out to be surplus grain-area, and thus augment national needs in times of grain crisis.

There are two harvests in a year, namely *Rabi* in the spring season and *Kharif* in autumn, wheat being the most important crop harvested in the spring. The major winter-crop in the lowlands is *Jowar* and *Makai* in the uplands. Tobacco is cultivated in Mastung and the Pishin valley, and *Sarsoon* (mustard) in Nasirabad and Kachhi regions. Barley, *jai*, rice, potatoes and onions are the other less important produce. Melons are also a notable *Kharif* product.

Among fruits, Baluchistan produces some of the very finest quality grapes, apples, pomegranates, pears, apricots etc., and various species of almonds in the higher uplands. In the plains, limes, mangoes, and guava abound over a total area of some 1,200 acres.

Vegetables are specially produced in the regions of the Quetta, Harnai, Mastung valleys and on the plains in Kachhi, Sibi, and Nasirabad, the total vegetable-producing area being 2,500 acres.

Foodgrains

The chief *Rabi* crops are wheat, *jowar* and gram; and the *Kharif* crops are barley, rice, *bajra*, *makai*, cotton and sugarcane.

Wheat

As this is a crop which can grow on all kinds of soil except alkaline, it is cultivated throughout the province on

the plains, slopes of hills and in the valleys, as well as in the lowlands where there are permanent means of irrigation. In the uplands and mountain regions, too, wheat is produced by means of *khushkaba* canals only in the rainy season. The sowing season in the lowlands is October-December, while in the mountain regions it starts as early as August, and continues upto December. In the plains, gathering of harvest commences early in April and continues till May with the progressive ripening of grain. On the mountains, however, this process lasts from the later part of June to August. The per acre yield on irrigated lands is 8 to 12 maunds, while on the *khushkaba* lands it ranges between 5 to 8 maunds per acre.

Barley

This crop is produced on lands which are not suitable for wheat. After two or three cuttings, it is left to grow for yielding seeds. Barley is cultivated on a large scale in Jhalawan (Kalat district); and is chiefly used as fodder. Fertile lands yield as much as 10 to 15 maunds per acre, while in the less fertile areas, the produce ranges between 6 to 8 maunds per acre.

Gram

It is usually sown in irrigated lands in September-December season, and harvested in March or towards the end of April at the latest. Gram is grown only in Sibi District, particularly in Nasirabad where it is considered as a good *Rabi* crop.

Irrigated land with soft and sandy soil is most suited for gram cultivation which averages between 8 to 14 maunds per acre.

Jowar

It is cultivated in the mountain regions as well as on the plains where sandy soil and smooth earth can be kneaded into pasty mud which is very favourable for its fast growth. For harvesting, it is cultivated between April and August; and for purposes of seed, in May to August.

Jowar plants are normally ready and cut two months after sowing; and they require about three to four months to yield seeds. The average yield of green fodder ranges between 280 to 300 maunds per acre; and that of seed between 8 to 10 maunds per acre, though in certain very fertile places the green fodder reaches upto 400 maunds per acre, with seedings at 16 to 120 maunds per acre.

Rice

Rice is cultivated in Sibi, Kachhi, Nasirabad and Makran districts on fields with groves of date-trees, and where perennial means of irrigation exist. Rice is a very adoptive crop, for it grows not only on smooth soil but also on sandy, and even alkaline soil, provided there is plenty of water.

In Makran, rice is cultivated in the northern oases where, in its characteristic way, it grows under the shadow of date-trees. The grain of Makran rice (*Shali*) is rather small, but has a very appetizing smell and a deliciousness of its own. The paddy plant is abnormally shorter, the reason being that the plant is left to grow in its place after sowing, while the usual practice in rice cultivation requires the infant paddy to be transplanted when it is about the size of an arm's length. This is not done here.

In other regions, rice is sown in the middle of May to mid-June, and subsequently transplanted upto July. The harvest is ready to be cut in about 90 to 180 days. The initial

harvest normally takes 90 days; the second 110 to 120 days; and the final from 150 to 180 days. The average yield of the ordinary quality of rice ranges between 20 to 30 maunds per acre; and the high quality rice between 16 to 20 maunds per acre. Gram and *Munar* (peas), which do not require much water, are also grown on the edges of rice-fields in areas having permanent canal irrigation system.

Bajra

This is essentially a staple food of the poor class of the people. It requires a lighter soil than is essential for barley—earth mixed with sand. Zhob, Loralai, Makran, Kharan, Lasbela and Kalat are the centres where this crop is cultivated on a large scale. Its sowing season lasts from mid-July to mid-August; and the harvest is ready in about three months time. Its stalks and green plants are used as fodder for sheep and cattle. The average yield is 6 to 8 maunds per acre.

Jai

It is cultivated on hill slopes as well as on the lowlands, and is generally grown for fodder.

Oilseeds

Sarsoon and *Tesi* (Chamba) are cultivated in Nasirabad, Kachhi and Sibi on a large scale. The southern Wadi-Dasht region and the lowland regions are also specially suitable for *Sarsoon* and *Tesi* as far as soil and climatic factors are concerned; but owing to lack of other necessary arrangements there is no mass cultivation of these in these regions.

Sugarcane

It is cultivated on a fairly large scale in Harnai tehsil in the district of Sibi, yielding an average production of 300 to

380 maunds per acre. Cultivation of this important crop is presently increasing now in other regions of Sibi. Successful experiments have been made in Mahgarh (tehsil Dhadar). As a result, sugarcane production is progressing favourably in the Nari-Bolan lowlands of Sarawan, though the land under cultivation is presently limited to an area of about 500 acres only.

Cotton

Cultivation of cotton had commenced with the opening of the Kirthar Canal in 1932, and is presently grown in commercial quantities in Kachhi, Makran (specially in Dasht valley), and Usta Mohammad (Nasirabad). In 1937-38, about 2,500 acres of land were under cotton cultivation; but the area of its cultivation has now greatly decreased since 1942. In tehsil Nushki (district Chagai), where cotton acreage was 100 square acres upto 1941, its cultivation has now been totally stopped.

Baluchistan produces the *Gossypium Herbaceum Vartyp-kum* variety of cotton in the Dasht valley, Kachhi and Kolanch regions. The seed is usually sown in February or March; but as the monsoon season is not predictable, the time of sowing also varies accordingly. The seeds are promptly spread with the onset of rains in the *Khushkaba* regions, often along with *Jowar*.

In Makran, too, the production of cotton depends on rain. In some regions, the land covered with floods is also used for cotton cultivation. Subject to rains during May and June, the flowers of cotton-plant spout out in July, and in October the cotton is collected. Usually one plant flowers four times; and if there is no rain, the cotton-plant remains standing for as long as six years, but yields no produce.

In the region of Kachhi, however, cotton finds a robust growth by virtue of its crystalline soil blended naturally with a requisite proportion of sand. The local cultivators call this type of soil *Muth*. Here, cotton is produced on flooded ground in July and August—the usual time when floods come in consequence of rains on the mountains. The sowing of seeds commences immediately after the onset of floods, which usually occur in the month of March. The normal sowing-time is February to March; and collection is done in October and November at an average of 3 maunds per acre.

It is said that there were forests of *Sombal* (Seamal) in the Kachhi region from which cotton used to be obtained. These forests, however, do not exist any more now, though one can still find a few isolated *Sombal* trees with their typical three-branch trunks at some places. It must also be said that though local climatic and soil conditions are conducive to cotton production through afforestation of *Sombal* trees, it is not done because the cost of producing *Sombal* cotton on a commercial scale would by far exceed that of *Kapas*, i.e., the ordinary cotton. Besides this, it is in fact hazardous to patronize this medium; for, writing in the *History of Masoomi*, the author, Mir Mohammad Masoom Bhakari, states:

“... In the suburbs of Sevi (Sibi) in the region of Zaminkur and Chatar, the plants of cotton are as tall as those of *Arand* (Castor), and people gather cotton by climbing them. Besides, to every tree are found clinging one span long one hundred snakes. When people want to collect cotton, first they shake the tree and throw the snakes down, and then collect cotton. If anyone is bitten by a snake, he cuts the point at once

with a razor, and some other man sucks the poison and throws it out. But if this is not done, the man dies...”

Dates

Makran district is virtually an oasis enriched with quality dates which form the staple food of its people. There are also other big oases in the tehsils of Makran, Tump, Panjgur, Mund, Bulid and Turbat, where dates are grown on a large scale and sold in various markets of Pakistan.

The cultivation of dates requires great attention; and the trees have to be carefully nursed. The dates produced in Panjgur are acknowledged as more tasty and fragrant than those of Basra. Almost all the date-trees in Makran belong to the *Phoenix Dactylifera* botanical group; but the local cultivators have classified these dates into more than one hundred kinds, based on variations in colour-shades of the seed, its weight, volume, flavour, and the time of their ripenings.

However, all the varieties of dates can be divided into two main types, namely ‘*Nasbi*’ and ‘*Kroch*’. The *Nasbi* tree which yields its fruit from 3 to 8 years after its plantation, gives an abundant quantity of dates, and remains fruitful for about a hundred years. In the first year of its life, it requires plenty of water; and as it grows, its roots derive their nourishment from beneath the earth and remain soft and healthy. There is, however, no harm if it is watered later.

The period of the growth of a date-tree is three-phased. The initial period, when the seed starts growing, is termed as *Machop* or *Machgunish*. The second stage, when the date assumes its generic colour is called *Kalont*. And the third or

the final phase, when it can be harvested, is known as *Amin*. Usually, *Machop* sets in in February and March when the male tree conjugates with its female counterpart. This coupling consequently results in both the trees producing fruits simultaneously; and in the absence of coupling, the male tree remains fruitless.

The second phase, *Kalont*, normally becomes evident during May and June when the dates assume their colour—an occasion which the cultivators celebrate with gay merriments, marking as it were, the blossoming of a minor girl into a virgin lady! This blood-red colour may rightly be regarded as a symbol of the villagers' 'heart-blood', for it is a manifestation of the labour and affection with which the tree is reared up to its potent age of productivity.

Eventually, when the coloration develops into ripeness, it marks the final phase of its development, i.e., *Amin*; and is readily severed from its parental surroundings and sent out for consumption in the markets in Karachi, Lahore, Hyderabad and other commercial centres. This usually occurs from July to October.

Begum Jangi is a nice quality date. It is delicious and tastily hard, and does not rot for long periods. On the other hand, another quality known as *Mazawati* is very juicy and delicious, but is too delicate, for it melts away like ice if exposed for long. It is, therefore, packed in air-tight jars or bottles for sale.

Statistics on date production in Baluchistan are not available. However, according to an official report published in 1953, 2.157 million maunds of dates were produced in 1949, valued at Rs. 343,000. Nevertheless, the country's

demand for dates can be gauged from the fact that in 1950, as much as 498,072 maunds of dates, valued at Rs. 44,47,683, were imported from abroad, increasing further to 840,545 maunds costing Rs. 80,90,881 in 1951.

In view of the heavy demand for dates, a plant for processing and packaging dates economically was established in 1962 in Turbat. The management of this concern was entrusted to Makran Date Growing Society under Natural Aid System. This project functioned quite efficiently till 1969, but had to be wound up thereafter as a result of maladministration.

Paleez

Paleez is a vernacular term applied to fruit-bearing ground creepers. Among this variety of fruits are sweet melons, water-melons, *sardas* and *garmas*, the last being the chief product in the region. *Garma* is a very sweet, delicious and thirst-quenching fruit shaped like a giant egg with a typical sweet smell. Primarily a cold-region fruit, it is very sensitive, and gets spoiled easily by the slightest heat. Hence, because of this delicate quality, it is limited to mass consumption in Quetta, Pishin and Mastung only, for it cannot be transported easily to more distant places without getting damaged.

On the other scale, *sarda* is almost as hard as a stone. It is also a cold-region fruit; but unlike its brother, *garma*, it easily reaches the hot regions farther away by virtue of its sturdy built. The *Sibi sarda* is also tasty and pleasant, but most of its flavour is lost by the time it reaches the hot regions.

All varieties of *Paleez* melons are consumed locally except *sarda*. In Makran district, a kind of green plant is

also grown along with *Paleez* melons. These young plants are extensively used as fodder; and its seed fetches a high price in the market.

Tobacco

Tobacco is cultivated on a large scale in Mastung. This tobacco, which is rather bitter and greenish in colour, is not of a standard quality; but is nevertheless used in sufficient quantities, particularly by *hooqa* smokers in Sind and elsewhere in the country.

Experiments on Virginia plants have been made in Mastung; and if it is successfully grown by suitable planning and under expert supervision, Pakistan might not have to import tobacco from foreign countries.

The Pishin valley is the centre of a special type of chewing tobacco, commonly known as *Niswari*. It is a very good variety of tobacco, and is virtually a monopoly of Baluchistan, from where the whole country gets its supply in adequate quantity. According to figures released by the Excise Department pertaining to the years 1963-67, Baluchistan had supplied 1,500,000 maunds of tobacco leaves and stalks of this variety to other parts of the country at a price varying from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 per maund of leaves, and at Rs. 50 to Rs. 70 per maund of stalks.

Fruits

The province of Baluchistan is very rich in fruits. At altitudes below 3,500 feet, it abounds in oranges, *lokats*, berries of various types, and sour apples, the last item being of vital use in the distillation of wine. In the valleys at higher altitudes of 3,500 to 4,500 feet, like the valleys of Khuzdar, Kalat, Ziarat and Pishin, there are big groves of apples,

Aaroo (peaches), almonds, pomegranates, apricots, *aloo-chas* (plums) and figs. Other numerous varieties of fruits—grapes specially—abound at altitudes ranging between 4,500 to 6,000 feet above sea-level. A specific kind of grape, which is more often consumed after drying, is known as *Kishmish*. At heights above 6,000 feet, where cold and fog prevail at all times, we again have rich varieties of apples, plums and scores of various kinds of berries. *Chilghoza*, i.e., kernels of the pine, is also planted here along with wild olives.

By and large, the prices of fresh fruits produced in Baluchistan are cheaper than those prevailing in other regions of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. If adequate means of transport and modern methods of fruit preservation, coupled with sufficient cold storage and canning facilities are provided, substantial quantities of fresh and canned fruits and bottled juices can be exported to Arab States and the Middle East, thereby fetching good amounts of the precious foreign exchange. Some private enterprises in Quetta, and the provincial Government also, have taken some initial steps in this direction.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Baluchistan—virtually a plateau in geographic terms—is spread over an area of about 134,000 square miles with a sea-coast of well over 400 miles. Nature in its bounty has endowed this largest province of Pakistan with enviable wealth in the form of natural fuels and minerals.

The first and foremost single factor which contributed, and continues to do so, was the discovery of natural gas in 1952 at Sui in the tribal area of Sibi District. The finding of this valuable source of fuel and power heralded a new

chapter in the history of industry and economy of the country, for today it is a known fact that about 45% of the total output of power in Pakistan is generated by the use of Sui gas in place of oil which had to be imported, thereby saving millions and millions of rupees in foreign exchange. Its blessings to the agricultural sector, too, are no less substantial. For instance, in the Punjab alone, by 1975, 16 million acres of land are expected to be irrigated and reclaimed by means of 29,000 tube-wells run by power generated by the use of Sui gas. According to official figures, the power generating centres of Lahore, Lyallpur and Multan consumed 34.2 million cubic-feet of gas daily during 1967, thus achieving a saving of Rs. 15 million in foreign exchange, which otherwise would have had to be expended for import of oil.

Gas consumption today is estimated to be more than 50.40 million cubic-feet per day. One can thus gauge the extent of savings in foreign exchange which Sui gas provides to the national exchequer. The extent of monetary gains through the output, distribution and sale of this gas can be properly perceived by the profits earned by various gas concerns and the Federal Government, as evident in the following official figures:

COMPANIES	CAPITAL	
	INVESTED BY	PROFIT
	BURMAH OIL CO.	
Pakistan Petroleum Co. Ltd.	55,000,000	161,000,000
Sui Gas Transmission Co.	9,500,000	68,000,000
Sui Northern Gas Pipeline	39,300,000	30,600,000
Total:	103,800,000	259,600,000

Thus, out of the three companies, Burmah Oil Company made a profit of Rs. 259.6 million against its shares costing Rs. 103.8 million in all the three companies.

Apart from this, the Federal Government collected Rs. 728.8 million by way of taxes, royalties and dividends from three foreign and two Pakistani companies, as shown below:

COMPANIES	TAXES, ROYALTIES ETC. (In millions)	GOVT. INVESTMENT (In millions)
	Rs.	Rs.
Pakistan Petroleum Co. Ltd. (Foreign)	350.0	22.4
Sui Gas Transmission Co. (Foreign)	152.5	6.7
Sui Northern Gas Pipeline (Foreign)	77.0	39.3
Karachi Gas Company	92.6	5.0
Indus Gas Company	56.7	100% (of Company's capital)
	728.8	less than 100 million

As per the official report, the amount of profits earned by both foreign and Pakistan companies was Rs. 313.8 million, while the Federal Government's income totalled Rs. 728.8 million against their investment of less than Rs. 100 million. In other words, the total profits earned through Sui gas amounted to Rs. 1,042.6 million; and the foreign exchange saved, through not having to import oil, amounted to Rs. 900 million in 1971.

With all these profits and savings, it would certainly not be impertinent to ask: how much has Baluchistan benefited from the wealth under its own soil? Let alone monetary benefits, what is all the more tragic is that the natives of Baluchistan do not enjoy the benefits of gas wealth from the womb of their own motherland even to the extent of one per cent of its output.

Be that as it may, it would not be amiss here to observe that Sui gas, or for that matter, natural gas from other fields also, is presently being very indiscriminately used as fuel in the domestic sector. This ruthless patronage of gas as domestic fuel is indeed very unfortunate, for there are certainly other better ways to which it can be put to use in industry and agriculture, supplementing coal. This inordinate use of natural gas seems to be justified on the general assumption that gas reserves would never be exhausted. Such an assumption is scientifically erroneous, for anything which neither increases, nor is relinquished in proportion to its decrease, must end one day. Although experts opine that Sui gas reserves would remain operative for another 90 years or so, it would not be unreasonable to predict that by the time the gas reserves are exhausted, we might not need them any longer. Some years back, when oil was discovered, people had begun to say that coal industry would come to an end. Did it? On the contrary, coal is a hundred times more in use today than it was before; and judging by the past history of coal industry, one could rest assured that its use will not diminish in the coming years.

MINERALS

In addition to its wealth of natural gas, Baluchistan abounds in mineral wealth also. Pakistan's inventory of

mineral resources consists of about 20 major items, most of which lie in Baluchistan. The following notes give a brief information on some of the important items found in the province, while a continuous search for new venues of oil, gas, coal, iron, etc., is still in progress.

Barytes: This metal is really barium-sulphate, the natural source of barium. It is used for adding weight to oil in the oil-wells; and is also used for colouring, polishing, glass-making, fireworks, ivory industry, insecticides, plastics, X-rays, paper-glazing, and many other items which require barium in their chemical process.

Khuzdar is the biggest baryte producing centre in Baluchistan, though substantial deposits of barium are found in the districts of Lasbela and Kalat also. About 85 to 90 per cent baryte is normally obtained after refining the metal in its crude state.

Chromites: Chromium is extracted from chromite which is an oxide of chromite and iron, and is mainly used in steel-making. Magnesium and aluminium also are its constituents. This metal is also used in the chemical industry for making colour, polishes, and in leather tanning. It was discovered in Baluchistan in 1901; and its mining on commercial scale commenced in 1903. Hindubagh region in the district of Zhob is the most important centre where its deposits are estimated to be about 3 million tons. Some quantities of chromium are also found in the mountain ranges of Chagai district; and deposits in Kharan, too, await exploitation.

Silica: Commonly known as sand-glass, this is used mainly in glass-making and surfacing, and also in the chemical and metal industries. It is found in large quantities in Quetta District. According to official reports, in one year

alone (1968), 160,000 maunds of silica was consumed, including quantities from Karachi, Thatta and Dera Ghazi Khan districts.

Gypsum: This soft mineral is actually hydrated calcium sulphate, and used in a number of industrial undertakings like manufacture of fertilizers, sulphuric acid, cement and plaster of Paris. Calcium oxide can also be extracted from it. There are rich deposits of gypsum in Sibi and Loralai, where it is found in layers of 1 to 7 feet in thickness. Soraptangi and Chamlangbhul are the centres where it is transacted on a commercial scale in Baluchistan. It is also found at other places in Pakistan such as Jhelum, Mianwali and Kohat. Its annual production in the country exceeds 100,000 tons.

Magnesite: This is a chief source of magnesium carbonate, and is used in preparing magnesium oxy-chlorides, oxy-sulphates, paper-pulp, magnesium metal alloys, fertilizers and medicines. The dust of magnesite is also used in iron and steel industries.

This mineral has not yet been fully explored. However, Pakistan Geological Survey—a Government organ—has recently undertaken preliminary explorations for magnesite in the Hindubagh region of Zhob District, where deposits estimated at 30,000 tons are said to be lying. Meanwhile, experiments on magnesite conducted here near Ispentangi have shown the following chemical break-up:

Mgo	45.38%
Cao	1.72%
Fe ₂ O ₃	1.04%
Sio ₂	0.38%
less after combustion	51.15%

Possibilities of discovering more deposits in this region are reported to be high in view of the peculiar physical features of the terrain. The production of magnesite in 1968 was stated to be 1,600 tons.

Marble: Called 'onyx marble' in technical terms, these granular and crystalline rocks with multi-coloured layers are found in great quantities in Chagai district, where 5,000 tons were excavated in 1968. Besides its consumption within the country in carvings of decorative items and works of art and craft, Chagai marble is exported to Italy on a substantial scale. There are numerous factories in Karachi, engaged in marble-tile making and artistic curios, which are greatly in demand by foreign tourists.

Limestone: Baluchistan has plentiful stores of limestone of a really high quality, a chemical analysis of which shows its structure to be:

Calcium carbonate	95.75%
Magnesium carbonate	1.18%
Iron oxide	0.49%
Aluminium	0.85%
Unsoluble matter	1.73%

It is the basic item in cement industry, for which Baluchistan is an ideal place. It is greatly in demand in the Arab States and the Middle East, where it is exported to on a large scale, earning handsome amounts of foreign exchange for the country. The number of cement factories, in the country, however, are not adequate enough to cope fully with the demands at home and abroad. If cement factories are established at suitable places in Baluchistan also—for which the region is ideal—it will, no doubt, help Pakistan to boost up its foreign exchange reserves considerably.

Antimony: Antimony (Collyrium), commonly known as *surma* in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, has been known to man since time immemorial. Women, in particular, have been the most ardent patrons of this substance with which they darken their eye-lashes and eye-lid edges to enhance their feminine appeal. It also served as a medium for pattern-making in the olden days. Industrial advancement and progress in science subsequently found it useful in brass, tin, lead and other metal industries, and also in colouring rubber. It also figures prominently in the chemical industry as well.

To the north-east, and at a distance of 15 miles from Fort Abdullah in Baluchistan, there are large deposits of antimony. America is the chief indenter of this element from Pakistani firms who exported 83 tons of tri-oxide of antimony, valued at nearly 30,000 pounds Sterling in 1964. China is the biggest supplying country, and contributes about 70% to the world production of this item.

Manganese: This hard and brittle greyish white metallic element is not found in its pure state, but is extracted from various other compounds, and is used in chemical and electric industries. It is found at Sanjro in Kalat District, but not in enough quantities. It is also found at a distance of about two miles from Nawioba, north-west in the district of Kharan, between the Taghesi spring and village Shafi Khan, where it lies mixed with lime, smooth earth and other compounds.

Asbestos: This is a peculiar compound of fibrous elements wherein silk and wool are prominent, yet it does not burn. Baluchistan is the store-house of nearly 95% of the total output of asbestos in the world. It is an indispensable item in cement-sheet, pipe, plastic and several other industries.

Rich deposits of asbestos are found at Washabad Nala in the south; at Hindubagh in the north; at Nawioba in the west; at Tileria in the east; and in Fort Sandeman, 49 miles to the north. Besides these places, it is also found in fair quantities in Shwangi Manda near Shinaliza, and at a place at a distance of about 25 miles north-east of the Shenghar range of mountains.

Iron: The importance of iron cannot be over-emphasized in modern industry. Fortunately, encouraging quantities of iron ore deposits have recently been discovered in Baluchistan in the north-west of Dalbandin, and at Chalgazi and its neighbourhoods in Chagai district, where an estimated quantity of 20 million tons is spread over an area of 25 square miles, of which about 4,000 square-feet have already been dug, exposing the finds at varying underground levels. Beside these areas, another 8,000 tons have been located at two other places north and north-west of Baluchapkunda, and yet another 7,000 tons at Bandegan.

Lead: Lead is found in the form of various compounds which have been discovered in substantial quantities in Khuzdar District. It is also found at Werang in Chagai district; at Kohmirani in Kalat district; and in Mashki Shah and Saindak.

Sulphur: This yellow non-metallic mineral element is a very important commercial item in industry as well as in medicine. The oldest sulphur mine in the province is located at Sunni, having been discovered as far back as 1888. The region in the Sulaiman Mountains in Chagai district is also famous for its big stores of sulphur. Nearly 100 tons per day are presently being extracted from the mines here since

1964. Recent discoveries have also been made near Jiwani, about half a mile from Panjghat in Manguchar, 15 miles south-west of Kalat. This item is exported in large quantities, and is a valuable source of foreign exchange earnings for the country.

Fluorite: Also known as Fluor-spar, this is actually crystalline calcium fluoride, and is found in various colour-shades such as greenish yellow, blue, red, brown and white. Fluorite is chiefly used in steel and glass industries in the country, the biggest single customer being the Pakistan Railway Workshop. It is also used for glazing pottery and jewel-stones. The biggest store of fluorite, covering an area of 17 miles lies near Tang, 30 miles from Quetta.

Graphite: This is used mainly for slate-pencil making, though it figures in other industrial processes also, like colouring electric goods, batteries, metal polishing, etc. Makran, Quetta and Nushki districts are the main centres where it is found in various shapes.

Petroleum: It is a known fact that Baluchistan has vast stores of oil beneath its ground-land; but unfortunately this immense natural wealth cannot be exploited to the country's advantage unless the Pakistan Government frees itself from Anglo-American political and economic pressures. Another reason why oil is not at present being exploited in Baluchistan is that the oil-springs here are located on the oil belt connected with Iran, and are at a lower level. Thus, if oil stores are exploited in Baluchistan, Iran will invariably have to face the danger of going dry. Hence, Anglo-American monopoly through World Petroleum Control continues undisturbed meanwhile.

Wild Life

There is a rich variety of game-life for sportsmen in Baluchistan. Tempting herds of wild goats and sheep meet the hunter's eye in the mountain regions of the province. The *Markhor*—the best specie of the wild goats—is the most sought after target, and requires a fair amount of skill and patience to be bagged by the hunter.

Wolves and jackals also abound here, occasionally intruding into populated villages. Along the river courses, one can also confront attractive *Chikaras* (antelopes), hefty bears, ferocious *Cheetas* (leopards), roaming wild asses, fur-tailed foxes, ever-angry *Kharpushits* (porcupines), violent wild boars, and sniffing hyenas.

The region also has an ample variety of small-game native birds like *chakors* (red-legged partridges), quails, chuckbursas, sisoos and nightingales. Seasonal birds like *Koonj* and *Saras* (varieties of crane species), ducks and teals, *Murghabis* (mallards), sandgrouses, etc., also migrate seasonally into Baluchistan from the north-west.

Kachhi, Dhadar and Makran regions, in particular, face the unceasing menace of wild boars who damage the crops of the farmers. As a result, they are killed by the hundreds, both by the farmers as well as sportsmen who delight in this adventurous exercise. This fast-producing specie of swines are of a high pedigree, and can well be trapped and exported to foreign countries as a profitable source of earning foreign exchange. The Provincial Government can, therefore, embark on a feasible plan to get rid of this ugly menace at handsome prices—subject, of course, to the religious rulings of the *ulemas* (religious authorities) who must duly be consulted.

Livestock: Cattle-rearing is an integral part of the economy of Baluchistan. In fact, a major part of the economy of rural life is dependent upon cattle rearing, particularly so in the tribal regions of Marri, Bugti, Sarawan, Jhalawan, Makran, Kharan, Zhob and Loralai. The extent of its dominance is evident in the fact that according to the cattle census of 1961, the number of sheep in Baluchistan was stated to be 2.5 per head, whereas in the rest of the country the average was .006 per 16 heads. Almost 90 per cent of Baluchistan's area of 134,000 square miles is used as pasture-land.

Cattle rearing is essentially the primary source of livelihood for the bulk of the population in the province, while agriculture and fruit farming ranks as a secondary means. The methods of rearing and minding livestock here are still primitive, despite the fact that there are 2 Government farms, 37 veterinary hospitals, and 185 dispensaries in the province. The reason for this is, largely, the black-marketing of medicines and apparatus coupled with inexperienced and inefficient staff.

According to 1960 census, the sheep population of the province stood at 2,480,883, the district-wise break-up being:

Quetta Pishin	110,360
Loralai	495,540
Zhob	632,788
Sibi	268,705
Nushki	23,370
Kalat (including Kachhi)	344,480
Kharan	497,180
Makran	108,460

Baluchistan can be divided into 3 separate regions on

the basis of the wool yielded by different classes of breeds as under:

- (i) 'Harnai' and 'Rakhshani' breeds in Sibi, Loralai (excluding 'Rakhshani'), Kharan and Kalat districts yield average quality of wool which is chiefly used in the making of blankets and ordinary warm clothing.
- (ii) The 'Bibarg' breed, found mainly in Dera Bugti, Barkan and Loralai tehsils, are famous for their wool with which carpets are woven. The annual yield of this quality of wool ranges between 3 to 4 maunds per sheep, substantial portion of which is exported abroad, where it is much in demand by virtue of its pure whiteness of texture.
- (iii) The 'Baluchi' class of sheep, found largely in Kalat and Makran, are reared chiefly for their meat. They do yield wool also, but this wool is not of a standard quality, and its colour is a mixture of all sorts of shades which are not liked by manufacturers.

There are of course several varieties of wool, but white wool with a long fibre is regarded as the best; the reason for this is that long fibres are easily twined into thread, and the whiteness of colour makes it receptive of any desired colour which the manufacturers might prefer to dye with. These twin qualities, therefore, make white wool the most preferred one, and therefore, the highest priced, too. The characteristics of superior quality wool are that it is amply flexible and soft. This naturally depends upon the pedigree of the animal. The other special feature of good wool is that it does not catch fire readily; but when it does burn, it gives a peculiar smell.

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The annual yield of sheep hideskin in the province is estimated to be 2,620,567 hides which means that at an average price of Rs. 10 per hide, the annual income would be Rs. 26,205,670. This is in addition to the annual income from bones and guts weighing roughly 196,541 and 2,620,547 maunds respectively.

Among the cattle, bullock enjoys a prominent status of his own for both cultivation by traditional methods as well as for breeding purposes. The *Nari* bullock is reputed for his sturdiness and virility, and is therefore reared on a large scale so as to meet its heavy demand from outside, particularly in Sind and the Punjab markets. There are special centres in Sibi and Kachhi where expert attention is paid to cattle-rearing. The estimate of cattle, including poultry, in Baluchistan is:

	238,976
Bulls	181,560
Cows	14,258
Buffaloes	413,325
Chicks	

The annual income from livestock in the province is reported to be Rs. 216,143,720.

Fishery

Makran coast is rich in fishes of numerous species, *Galoo* and *Kir* being most abundant. Fishing is done by netting as well as through angling by fishermen locally known as *Med*, *Kori*, or *Kora*, who bring boatfulls of catches in the winter, which is the ideal season for mass fishing. These catches are purchased at very low wholesale prices by local dealers who in turn sell their stocks to exporters after processing and drying them. Unlike western Baluchistan,

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the people of Makran have a preference for fish as their staple dish.

The coast of Makran abounds in lobsters and prawns also, which are in great demand in Britain, America and other European countries. According to an estimate published by the office of the Co-operative Societies, annual foreign exchange earnings through export of fish amount to Rs. 50 million.

Shark ranks next to lobster in its demand abroad. The Makran shark, which is reputed for its quality and shape of fins, is exported in large quantities to America, Zanzibar and Ceylon at a handsome rate of Rs. 15 per pound.

It will thus be seen that Baluchistan has great potentials for fish industry. A systematic development in this sphere would certainly have contributed much more to Pakistan's foreign trade than it has hitherto done. In fact, a good deal of planning had been going on since Independence; but strangely enough, most of these deliberations remained static on paper; and whatever little was done in practical terms proved to be futile. For instance, a fish-curing yard was set up at Gwadar and Pasni. A retinue of employees, costly equipment, and necessary paraphernalia were provided for what was termed as 'boosting up fish trade' in the region. But like the proverbial old woman who desired to chew sugarcane without realizing that she had no teeth to do so, the official planners forgot to provide for the most necessary item in fish processing, i.e., fresh water! The result was that the projects became a haven of sinecure employees; and the cold storage plants at both the places got rusted. How the "experts" forgot that a permanent and adequate source of fresh water is an

essential thing in fish-curing is indeed something more than mere wrong planning.

Lately, however, water has been provided at the yard in Pasni, and things have started moving; but the yard in Gwadar is still awaiting necessary attention. The Asian Bank had advanced 20.5 million in foreign exchange in March 1972 for improvement of fishery in Baluchistan. It is hoped that this aid will go a long way in solving the problems facing the fishermen here.

CONCLUSION

The physical, geographical and geological account given briefly in the preceding pages must, and will, open the eyes of those who have hitherto been tutored to regard Baluchistan as a "wasteland of deserts and mountains" and that it is an economic "liability" which the Federal Government shoulders. Nothing could be more false and preposterous.

In truth, Baluchistan is not only self-sufficient in every way, but actually feeds the Federal Government with the resources of its own soil. On and under the land; in the sea; on the mountains; and even over and beneath the deserts, nature has endowed this tract of 134,000 square-miles with layers upon layers of immense natural wealth, as described above; and this is only what has so far been physically extracted. The store of unexplored and unexploited mineral wealth must, therefore, surpass all hypothetical estimates. To say of such an affluent land that it is an "economic liability" or that it is "backward" is nothing short of a deliberate lie, and one that no person in his right senses can swallow.

Baluchistan, no doubt, has a peculiar historical background by virtue of the strategic position it has held in the region since centuries, particularly during the British regime starting with 1839 and ending in 1947. The British who ruled over what was once the Indian subcontinent were concerned with this province more for its strategic value than for its economic potential. There was, therefore, no noticeable industrial development during this period, though certain industries which largely served British interests were established. A self-sufficient and politically conscious Baluchistan was not congenial to British designs. Even the most important necessities like petroleum, iron and other such minerals remained unexploited.

It was only with the emergence of Pakistan that the significance of Baluchistan assumed a fresh complexion; and today one finds a certain amount of industrial activity here, though it must be said that compared to the natural resources available in the province, industrial and socio-economic progress is but nominal, and painfully slow.

The people of Baluchistan quite rightly expected a new era of advancement of their province, but what followed soon after the death of the Father of the nation, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, disillusioned them to a point of frustration; for the history of industrialization of their mineral wealth is virtually a history of capitalistic monopolization of local natural assets by influential and non-bonafide groups of magnates, most of whom are outsiders. For instance, coal alone fetches an annual return of Rs. 120 million, *plus* Import Permits valued at hundreds of million for mechanization and machinery; but it is an open secret that these Permits and Licences are disposed off at 100% profit

in the black-market, and the profits earned thereby are invested elsewhere. The same can be said of most of the other items.

With all this flow of money in Baluchistan, one may rightfully ask what has the native populace gained in material terms? What progress the province made in the basic spheres of education and health during the years 1947-1970? Poverty and educational backwardness are still obvious here. The general standard of living still continues to be disgracefully low. The bulk of the population even today lacks in the comforts and blessings of modern life. It is indeed a sorry state of affairs to see the sons and daughters of its soil struggling miserably for their meagre existence, while their hard toil and God-given resources are being enjoyed to the full, elsewhere.

The present regime, however, is taking due cognizance of the state of affairs in this province; and it remains to be seen how fast, and how well, it can mitigate the wrongs that have been perpetrated in the past on this unhappy region of Pakistan. How can Baluchistan with its meagre population of 2.5 million ever be a 'liability', when the fact is, as discussed above, that it is itself substantially supporting the economic structure of Pakistan through more ways than one?

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History is little more than the register of crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind.

Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*

Chapter 2

The Early History of Baluches and their Land

THE exact origin of the tract of land which came to be called 'Baluchistan' is too obscure for any conclusive discussion, though certain historians and research scholars have traced it to as far back as the Mesolithic stage of the formation of earth. Likewise, authorities on the subject have not been able to state anything authentic about the exact origin of the Baluches. Under these circumstances, one must necessarily resort to the genealogical records of this ethnic group and their age-long traditions as described in their legendary literature. According to these sources, Baluches are of Arabian origin, for it is recorded in their genealogical annals that they were the ancient followers of Prophet Abraham. Thus, they have the same characteristics as the Arabs. They are brave, adventurous and revengeful. Their tribal society has much in common with the Arab society based on a tribal system encompassing numerous sub-tribes, clans and sub-clans. Their life, like that of the ancient Arabs is inherently nomadic; for, sheep-rearing which is their main occupation, requires ever-new pastures for grazing; and this necessity makes its incumbent upon them to keep on moving from place

Their tribal laws, much like the laws prevalent among Arab tribes, prescribe blood for blood for murders, and death for the offence of adultery. They have a sacred regard for the marital bond. They are very chivalrous towards ladies, and exceptionally hospitable towards their guests whom they are delighted to serve to the best of their means and ability.

The ancient abode of the Baluches, according to historians, was the valley between the Tigris and Aleppo, from where they migrated over to Iran; and a branch of this migrant group may have camped around the border of the Caspian Sea. Historical evidence indicates that Kurds and Baluches were two units of one common tribe who had lived in Aleppo Valley round about 4 A.D. Mutual discords and tribal feuds, coupled with the necessity of search for fresh pasture-lands and water for their sheep and cattle, eventually led them into Baluchistan in small groups.

Before we proceed with the account of Baluches and their role in history, a brief sketch of Baluchistan in retrospect here would be helpful to the reader.

Baluchistan is truly an ancient land that has seen and nursed the great Indus valley civilizations like Moenjodaro and Harappa. Some of the remains of other ancient civilizations have also been excavated here, namely the Sotakgeen Dump located at Shahi Tump in Makran; Nandoo and Mandoo Dumps at Jau and Nach in Jhalawan; Dump Sadaat in Kalat; Dump Khwaja Zubair in the Sorab Valley; Siyah Dump in Anjerah; and the ancient tombs and the Hillock of Pairik in Kharan.

According to the annals of ancient history, Baluchistan was connected with Persia as far back as 521-485 B.C., when

Darius-I ruled over the region. Later, when Alexander defeated Darius-III in 331 B.C., this fell into the hands of the Greeks. It was through Baluchistan that this Greek emperor chose his route back home after his conquest of the Punjab. Subsequently, consequent upon the death of Alexander of Babylon in 323 B.C., two of his Generals, Antigonus-I and Seleucus-I emerged as the competitors for power in Asia. It was Seleucus who recovered Babylon in 312 B.C., and expanded his possessions far into Central and Western Asia, and to the borders of India within six years of his coming into power. He is stated to have marched eastwards across Makran with a view to cross River Indus in 305 B.C. He was, however, intercepted by Chandragupta Mauriya, the Rajah of Magadha kingdom in northern India, who defeated him. As a result, Seleucus had to sign a humiliating treaty by which he had to cede Makran and several other principalities to the Rajah. Not content with his military successes, Chandragupta even married his enemy's beautiful daughter; and as a price for this Greek beauty, he is reported to have presented 500 elephants to his defeated father-in-law. The historian, Ishwari Prasad, does not tell us what the Greek General did with these elephants.

Later on Baluchistan became a part of the Bactrian kingdom (modern Balkh in Central Asia), which in its turn was overthrown by the Sakas (Scythians), a nomadic tribe of Central Asia in 130 B.C.

Here there is a time-gap in our knowledge about Baluchistan till the entry of Naushervan in the pages of history during 529 to 577 A.D. This great Sassanian monarch may well be described as the first conqueror of Baluchistan. His grandson, Khusrau-I, son of Hormuz bin Naushervan, who drove out the Turanis (Turks) under Afrasiab, is said to

have stayed in Makran—now a district in Baluchistan—for about a year where he improved agriculture, encouraged the cultivators to lay out fruit gardens, hunting grounds and pastures. When Khosrau left Makran, he deputed General Ashkash as the Governor of the region. The two *Karezes* in Turbat, known as 'Kausi' and 'Khusrawi' are probably the bearers of his name.

For the next two centuries, approximately, Makran presumably remained under the Sassanids, for it is on records that Khasrau-II (591-628 A.D.), also known as Khasrau Pervez, who had recovered the eastern province of his father's kingdom, is mentioned to have marched towards the Indus where the subjects had revolted. However, by 635 A.D., the Brahma-Rai dynasty of rulers in Sind had over-shadowed the Brahman kings who had been in power for five generations with Alor as their capital. Their dominions extended from Multan to the sea-coast, and from the desert to the hills, including that part of Baluchistan known as Jhalawan today. The last of the Rai kings was Rai Sahasi. When he died, his Vizir, a Brahman named Chach, married the widowed Queen and ascended to the vacant throne. According to the *Shahnama* of Firdousi (1010 A.D.), Chach marched towards Kirman in 635-36 A.D. in order to determine the boundary line of his dominions, after selecting an auspicious day and time as advised by his court astrologers. He overran the territory of Armabel (modern Lasbela); and reaching the western extremity of Makran, he halted there and planted date trees along a stream, and set up a marker inscribed with the words.

"This was the boundary of the Hind in the time of Chach, son of Silaj, son of Basabas. Now that boundary has come into our possession."

Makran was thus under the rule of Sind when Arab advances towards India commenced in 643 A.D.

We will now resume our discussion of Baluches who had started pouring into Baluchistan in 4 A.D., as stated in the beginning of this chapter.

As has been said earlier, Kurds and Baluches were two units of one and the same tribe. Driven by mutual clashes and the need for fresh pasture-lands and water, they had started migrating from their homeland in the Aleppo Valley to new lands. Being at loggerheads with each other, each of the two factions chose different destinations. Accordingly, while the Kurds penetrated far into Iraq, Turkey and the northern regions of Persia, the Baluches started settling down at the foot of Mount Al-Burz in the valley along the southern Caspian Sea coast. It must also be understood that these migrations were not massive. In fact, it was not until 529 A.D. that Baluch migrations had assumed the character of a planned mass movement. This was the period of history when the Iranian empire was at the peak of its civilization and cultural glory under the famous Sassanid monarch, Naushervan the Just, whose dominions stood extended as far as modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Iraq, and even to some northern districts in the Arabian Peninsula.

Baluch incursions into Iran proper, and their occupation of its green meadows and water streams by means of the sword naturally invoked the wrath of the Emperor, who ordered his army to drive away these unwanted guests from his territories. As a result, thousands of Baluches were massacred and they had to leave the country. Thus rendered homeless, they divided themselves into two groups. One group under Mir Saad as their leader moved over and settled

down in Seistan, while the other one under Mir Jalal Khan Rind crossed over to Iranian Baluchistan. With the passage of time, these tribal groups came to be identified with the names of their respective Chiefs.

The sons of Mir Saad—Mir Miroo and his younger brother—remained in Seistan for some years, and then advanced towards Chagai and Kharan where they stayed for some time before finally reaching Siyah Kumb after passing through Sorab and Maraap. Here they settled down permanently. This group which was originally called 'Ibrahimi Baluches' is now pronounced as 'Brahui Baluches'.

Likewise, the other group headed by Mir Jalal Khan Rind also left Iranian Baluchistan subsequently, and settled down finally in Makran. This group of Rind Baluches comprised of 44 sub-tribes, most of whom were once again obliged to leave Makran for the more fertile regions towards the east.

It will be recollected that only two groups had migrated from their original abode in Aleppo, and the remaining Baluches had stayed back. Ultimately, however, this third group, too, in view of unsafe local conditions had to migrate in order to ensure their socio-economic survival. Consequently, they spread out to more stable and favourable regions stretching from Seistan to Chagai, Makran, Port Abbas, and along the Afghan and Iranian borders upto Herat. Since they settled down in the plains, these Baluches came to be called as 'Narohis', meaning "Settlers of the Plains".

This then is a brief survey of the ethnological group nomenclature as 'Baluches' who, according to a rough estimate now number no less than 25 million, spread over Baluchistan and certain other parts of the world.

During the period of mass Baluch migrations from Aleppo (northern Syria) around 570-636 A.D., when they had occupied Emperor Naushervan's territories in Persia; and when Chach, the Rai King, had defined the boundaries of his dominions extending upto Makran where Baluches had more or less settled down permanently in Baluchistan, developments of universal importance and impact were taking place in Arabia. The birth of Prophet Mohammad (s.a.) in 570 A.D.; his divine mission of propagating Islam which entailed unequalled achievements in the history of mankind, both military and religious, between 622 and 632 A.D.; his demise in 632 A.D.; and the consequent institution of the Muslim Caliphate, had changed the entire complex of socio-political life in the regions that came under the sway of Muslim domination through a succession of victorious wars as well as through mass voluntary convictions of the Divine Message which Islam brought with it for the king and the pauper alike.

Shortly after the demise of the Holy Prophet in 632 A.D., Abu Musa al-Ashari, the Governor of Basra in Mesopotamia, having acquired intelligence through his sources, wrote to Caliph Abu Bakar, stating: "The king of Hind and Sind was powerful and contumacious, following the path of unrighteousness", and that "Sin dwelt in his heart".

Later, after the Muslim conquest of Persia, the Arab army headed further towards the east during the caliphate of Omar (634-43 A.D.). The Arab General, Abdullah bin Abdullah, led an army into Makran in 643 A.D. Malik Saad, the local Chief, reinforced with contingents from Sind, put up a stubborn resistance, but was finally defeated. The Saadabad Karez near Kalatuk in the vicinity of Turbat in Makran is supposed to have been built by an Arab ruler.

According to historian Balazuri, Caliph Osman is stated to have sent one of his officers to Sind in order to obtain information about the land and its confines. The learned historian opines that this Arab officer's route must have been through Makran. The graphical account this officer sent back to the Caliph, literally ran thus:

"Commander of the Faithful! It is a country of which the mountains are mountains indeed; and the plains of which are real mountains; it is a country with so little water that its dates are the worst of dates, and the inhabitants are the most warlike of men. If thou hadst a less numerous army there, it would be annihilated and could do nothing; and if the army is considerable, it will perish of hunger, because there are no victuals. The country beyond is still worse."

In view of this adverse picture, Caliph Osman is reported to have postponed the idea of the conquest of Sind.

Later, however, after the assassination of Hazrat Ali in Kufa in the year 661 A.D., and the assumption of the Caliphate by Moaviya as the first Omayyad Caliph the same year, military expeditions which were hitherto directed at the Medes on the Persian coast were extended to the Sind frontiers in 664 A.D. About 44 towns in Makran were occupied, and certain unidentified districts, then called Nukan and Kikan, were also taken, including Kushdar (modern Khuzdar). These rapid Muslim advances would have continued, but certain serious developments in the central Caliphate in Baghdad prevented military attention to the outposts further east.

Consequently, it was during the tenure of Caliph Abdul Malik (684-704 A.D.) that military activity on a war-

scale was resumed in this part when Hajjaj, having been appointed as the Governor in Iraq by the Caliph, put Said bin Aslam in charge of Makran. But he was killed by the Allafis who ransacked Makran, and retired back to Sind instead of entrenching themselves here. Muja'a then succeeded Said, but he died in 705 A.D., hardly an year after assuming his office.

Meanwhile, Caliph Abdul Malik died in 704 A.D., and his son, Waleed, ascended to the Caliphal throne in 705 A.D. He sent out Mohammad bin Haroon Makrani to man the situation in Makran and the eastern frontiers. Mohammad bin Haroon rushed out reinforcements to Budail, who had earlier been ordered to advance towards the Indus delta. Budail's expedition, however, proved disastrous; and he was himself killed.

These Arab thrusts thus continued without major achievements till 711 A.D., when Rajah Dahir was on the throne in Sind. The immediate reason for the Arab onslaught on Sind was the reprisal for the rapacious piracy by Hindu brigands on the ship carrying the widows and orphaned children of Muslim merchants who had died in Ceylon. Hajjaj, the Caliph's Viceroy, demanded suitable redress from Rajah Dahir for this act of felony, but he ignored this demand. Enraged at his apathy, Hajjaj deputed his own son-in-law, Mohammad bin Qasim, to lead a punitive force comprising of 6,000 Syrian cavalymen, one camel corps and necessary baggage. This youthful boy—for Mohammad bin Qasim was only seventeen years of age at the time of this historic mission—can well be reckoned as the youngest conqueror in military history. He not only defeated and killed Rajah Dahir, but in one swift move after another he subdued Daibal, Nerun (near modern Hyderabad in Sind), Sehwan, Brahmanabad,

Alor and Multan—a single brilliant campaign that will ever remain a spectacular glory in the annals of Muslim conquests in India.

That such a valiant and young General like Mohammad bin Qasim was condemned to death by the Caliph is indeed a sad tale of how history can be tainted disgracefully as a result of palace intrigues and personal animosities. The history of Sind-Baluchistan could well have been different had this young conqueror's life not been cut short; for this is what Elliot in his Appendix to *The Arabs in Sind* says:

"... Soon after Muhammad bin Qasim's death, things went wrong in the newly conquered province, for it is said that two years after that event, of the whole country, save only that from Debal (Daibal) to the Salt Sea, little remained in the hands of the Agent of the Khalifa. Many of the chiefs and feudatory princes of Sind revolted; and Jaisiya regained the possession of Brahmanabad, so that it became necessary to send fresh forces from Iraq against them. These expeditions became frequent as time went on. For forty years, from 711 to 750 A.D., the country was more or less under the Ummayyid Khalifas, when it passed into the hands of the Abbasids. Of the thirty-seven Khalifas of the Abbasid family, Sind remained under the first twenty-one, when it passed into the hands of other rulers."

All through this period, the Baluches never ceased in their tribal strifes for a more stabilized life; and it was not until the time of Sardar Miroo Khan Mirwari—the founder of Kalat State—that the people of Baluchistan could ultimately breathe in peace with a certain amount of confidence and means of defending their hearths and homes against foreign invasions.

Language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of dictionary-makers; but is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its bases broad and low, close to the ground.

Walt Whitman: *Slang in America*

Chapter 3

Language and Literature

WE have seen in the previous pages how after the subjugation of Babylon by Cyrus the Achaemenian (538 B.C.), the Baluches had started migrations from there (Chaldea), and had, in course of time, settled down in the northern areas of Persia. With the passage of time and intermingling with the native populations, it is reasonable to say that the Baluches gradually borrowed substantially from the language of their conquerors, losing thereby their original Semitic dialect. Philologically, the Baluchi language is thus of a Persian complexion. Grierson, too, opines that the Baluchi language belongs to the Persian offshoot of the Aryan sub-family of languages. This is evident from the inscription pertaining to the accession of Xerxes (486-465 B.C.), discovered at Persepolis, the ancient capital of Persia. Nevertheless an etymological analysis will show that even *minus* the Persian, Indian and Pashto words used in the classical Baluchi literature, the Baluchi language yet retains—both in root and sound—the base of a language which is essentially a relic of an ancient Semitic family.

However, the Baluchi language as spoken today has two distinct dialects—the Eastern dialect, and the Western or Makrani dialect. The Eastern dialect is prevalent in regions like Marri, Bugti, Dera Ghazi Khan and the northern regions of Sind; and the Western dialect is common in the districts of Kalat, Chagai, Makran, Kharan, Lasbela and Karachi. It also extends as far as the Gulf States, Persia, and also to certain parts of Afghanistan, Iranian Baluchistan, and Seistan. The Western dialect is known by different names in different regions, such as *Kalat*, *Panjguri*, *Rakhshani*, *Kachhi*, *Saheli* (Coastal), etc. In fact, every region has a certain distinct peculiarity of its own in the spoken word.

Bi-lingualism is also quite common in Baluchistan. Those whose principal language is Baluchi freely speak subsidiary languages as well. For instance, the Baluch settlers in Punjab, Sind, Multan and the north-western parts very fluently speak Punjabi, Sindhi, Saraiki and Pashto languages. Likewise, the native Baluches, too, have very efficiently adopted regional languages other than their mother-tongues. Baluch tribes like the Talpurs, Gurmanis, Dastis, Laigharis, Lasharis and Rinds in Sind speak the Sindhi language as if it were their second mother-tongue, while the Baluches of Dera Ismail Khan speak Saraiki or Pashto as their adopted language. As far as Urdu is concerned, it is estimated that above 50,000 Baluches speak it, these being the segment of Baluches who had settled down in India, and had to migrate over to Baluchistan after the partition of the Subcontinent.

It will thus be seen that language alone cannot be taken as a criterion for distinguishing Baluches from non-Baluches.

The sphere of Baluchi literature on the other hand is expressive of an evolution of its own. It must be realized that

the history of Baluches is a history of ceaseless tribal conflicts, wars and turmoil. It is, therefore, natural that the history and nature of Baluchi literature, too, shows a greater use of the sword than of the pen. Baluchi poetry, which the Baluches aptly call *Daftar* (meaning a chronicle of performances), is essentially a record of the gallant and brave deeds of Baluch legendary heroes who achieved undying fame through their achievements on the battlefields as well as in other spheres of folk-life. The custodians of these highly valuable historic treasures are known as *Raizwar Shair*, who, in addition to the preservation of poetry, also act as the keepers of the historical annals and genealogical records of the tribes. During the time of Mir Khudadad Khan of Kalat (1857-1893), Reki Shahizai was the *Raizwar Shair* of the Ahmadzai dynasty of rulers, when, notwithstanding their pre-occupations with State affairs, even the Baluch nobles, princes and the ruling Khans found time to compose poems. Among the rulers of Kalat, Mir Abdullah Khan Qahhar was a forceful poet. In one of his popular couplets, he proudly, but quite truthfully says:

*Kohing a Koheen Kalat
Kase Pit-e-miras Na-ant
Ma Pa Sagan ra giptagant.*

Translation

O thee mountain-fort of Kalat-Kohing!
Thou art not heritage to anyone;
I have captured thee by the sword.

Ballads and folk-songs are the common form of classical Baluchi literature which has reached us through the ages via successive generations of bards who preserved

them intact. The earliest mention of Baluchi literature is to be found in the works of Ibne Haukal (961 A.D.), followed by Yaqooti (1218 A.D.), Al Idrisi, and Minhajuddin Osman bin Sirajuddin—the author of the famous *Tabqaat -e- Nasiri*. However, Baluchi literature could not gain any attention of the outside world till about five centuries later. It was in 1830 when an enterprising European globe-trotter, named Leech, published his Research Report on the language and literature of Baluches in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, that world attention was drawn in this direction.

Consequently, English scholars started focussing their literary enthusiasm on Baluches and their language and literature. Many of these seekers of knowledge came down to India and visited various remote areas in Baluchistan with a view to study the history and literature of this legendary land. Literary figures like Longworth Dames, Hetu Ram and Burton created a robust re-awakening of the slumbering Baluchi literary complex by collecting, assimilating and compiling Baluchi classical poems, ballads, epicediums, folk-songs and folk-tales which otherwise would have remained undelivered for God knows how long. *Pierce's Manual and Vocabulary of the Baluchi*; Lord Bruce's *Notes on the Baluchi Tribes of Derajat* (Lahore, 1870); and Mayer's *Baluchi Classics* (London, 1900), are some of the outstanding contributions of European scholars to Baluchi literature. Dames' *Popular Poetry of the Baluches* published in 1907, is the last systematic work on the subject.

The earliest manifestations of Baluchi poetry were in the form of *Lories* (lullabies); *Halo Halo* and *Laro*, or *Ladok* (songs for marriage occasions); *Dastanaghs* (short songs usually sung in accompaniment with *Nar*, a flute); *Zahiruks* (melodies of separation of lovers) and *Motaks*, i.e., epicediums.



Baluch folk-dance (cha'ap): a popular scene on merry occasions.



Baluch tribal Sardars in their traditional attire.

Dames' collection of Baluchi poems covers mainly the poetry current in eastern Baluchistan, though a considerable mass of poetic literature was to be found in western Baluchistan as well, particularly in Makran and Kharan regions. As such, it must be said that Dames has not covered the entire venue of Baluchi literature. What he could salvage for preservation is but just a drop from the ocean. Nevertheless, what little precious gems he had been able to save from possible extinction are indeed an invaluable treasure; and for this we must be grateful to him.

A chronological sequence of the evolution of Baluchi literature can roughly be stated as under:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (i) The Rind era | 1400-1600 A.D. |
| (ii) The Ahmadzai period | 1600-1850 A.D. |
| (iii) The British period | 1850-1947 A.D. |
| (iv) The current period | contemporary (since 1947) |

The poetic literature of the Rind Period (1400-1600) can well be described as an age of ballads which reflect in a moving way the human passions of love, revenge, chivalry and admiration for the heroic deeds of the warriors. The main theme of these ballads was no doubt the realities of the age, portraying in vivid terms the events of the famous 30-year Rind-Lashari wars; the historic clashes between Bijar Puzh Rind and the Dodai Baluches of Derajat; the romantic tragedy of Hani and Shah Murid; the passionate love episode of Bivragh Puzh and the charming Arghun princess, Granaz; and the sad end of the romance of Shahdad and Mahnaz.

These Baluchi ballads, or *Dastans* as they are called, can be categorized into three main fields, namely Epical,

Romantic, and Genealogical history, and are not without the necessary element of a certain amount of imagination which is universal in all poetic works, ancient or modern; but the degree of exaggeration in these narratives does not trespass into the realm of mythology. The striking feature of Baluchi war ballads is that the poet identifies himself with his hero in an aesthetic mood without raising him to absurd heights of hero-worship. Thus, one gets a reasonably fair insight into the social order and ethical values that prevailed during this age.

The most celebrated poets of this age were Shah Murid, Bibarg, Mir Chakar Rind, Gwaharam Lashari, Miram Rind, Nodh Bandagh (the gold scatterer), Mir Rehan Rind, Dos-teen, Hamal Jihand, Mir Shahdad, Shah Mubarak Kaheri and others.

The Ahmadzai Period (1600-1850), which can rightly be called an 'age of absolutism', was comparatively more complex in thought and expression. It was an age which guaranteed safety of life and personal property more than anything else. The name of Jam Durrah is synonymous with this period. He was not only popular with the masses, but his dynamic poetry had placed him into the court of Khan-e-Azam Mir Nasir Khan-I. Other outstanding poets of this period were Mulla Fazil, Mulla Ismail Izzat Panjguri, Noor Mohammad Bampusti, Osman Kalamati, Jihand Rind, Mohammad Khan Gishkori, Mitha Khan Rind, Haider Balachani and others. Abdullah Khan Baluch, the Khan-e-Baluch-IV (1714-1734), was himself an eminent poet, whose sweet out-pourings can well be reckoned as specimens of classical Baluchi language in its purest form. Similarly, Khan Khudadad Khan—the Khan-e-Baluch-X (1857-93)—was also a good critic of art and literature. It was during his rule that Kalat assumed

the status of being the most advanced intellectual as well as commercial centre in the whole of the province of Baluchistan.

The British Period (1850-1947) heralded a systematic philological study of Baluchi language and collection of its literature. The residences of the dignitaries of the State became the rendezvous of poets and men of literature. It was during this period that R. Leech, Rev. T. M. Mayer, Hetu Ram and Longworth Dames published their research findings and collections of Baluchi literary works.

It was during this phase of Ahmadzai rule that Maulana Mohammad Fazil gave an inspiring impetus for the promotion and development of Baluchi language by establishing a *Madresa* (Academy) in Durkhan, where besides imparting religious education, he commenced publications of religious scriptures in Baluchi and Brahui languages with a view to re-orientate the people towards healthy national aspirations. He created a band of writers, poets, critics and preachers; and as many as 600 books were published from his institution, which can rightly be called 'The Durkhan Literary Academy'. Maulvi Hazoor Bakhsh Jatui and Maulana Mohammad Omer Dinpuri were the outstanding contemporary figures to whom we owe our respects and gratefulness for translating the Holy Quran into Baluchi and Brahui languages, respectively. Besides this distinctive service to Islam in general, and to the Baluches in particular, these literary luminaries also contributed greatly to the overall enrichment of Baluchi literature through their numerous writings.

The prominent poets of this period were Maulvi Hazoor Bakhsh Jatui, Rahim Ali Shaheja, Abdul Nabi Rind, Mast Tawwakali, Behram Jakrani, Qasim Rind, Mulla Ibrahim Sarbazi, Ismail Pullabadi and scores of others.

The contemporary period of Baluchi literature commencing with the establishment of Pakistan as a sovereign Muslim State in 1947 is presently in a state of evolution, seeking to atune itself to the tempo and demands of our present scientific and technological age. It is still on the march to newer heights, and is making headway. I, therefore, feel it is too early at this stage to comment, critically or otherwise, on the status of modern Baluchi writings. Nevertheless, I must say that it has pleased me to observe that our young poets and writers are developing a healthy sense of Baluchi traditions and values of life, thereby contributing substantially to the enrichment of the Muslim nation's ascendancy to newer heights of attainment in oriental literature.

The present contains nothing more than the past, and what is found in the effect was already in the past.

Henri Bergson: *Creative Evolution*

Chapter 4

The Emergence of Baluch Rule

It will be recalled that Baluches had occupied the western part of Makran where, following their periodic migrations from Aleppo, they had formed themselves into a formidable concentration of warlike tribes. Kalat, however, remained out of their reach, for the Hindu dynasty of Sewai rulers reigned supreme here. Nevertheless, encouraged by the occupation of some parts of Sind by some adventurous Baluches, the Baluch tribes of Jhalawan in Makran, too, waited resolutely to oust the Sewai Hindus. This opportunity eventually presented itself when the Moghuls started their early invasions of India through Baluchistan towards the end of the thirteenth century. The Moghul invaders were fully aware of the martial characteristics and fighting prowess of the Baluches. They, therefore, sought the cooperation of the Baluches against the Hindu Sewais who were proving an obstacle in their onward advance.

The combined force of Moghul and Baluch warriors was too much; and as a result of the clashes that ensued, the Sewais fled deeper into the interior of Sind. Thus, Baluches

became the masters of Kalat after signing a bond of friendship with the Moghuls. Miri, where the old historic Fort still stands, was made the capital.

Sardar Mirroo Khan Mirwari

This Chief of the Mirwari tribe of Baluchistan must have all the credit of organizing the Baluches, and knitting them together into a well-disciplined and self-respecting tribal unit, strong and self-reliant enough to found a State which they could call their own. His sagacity, courage and nobleness of character was held in great esteem by his followers. After his death, his son Mir Omer Khan was made the Sardar of the tribe.

Mir Omer Khan

Kalat was under the sway of the Moghuls in 1530, when Mir Omer Khan became the Sardar, and Zulnoon Baig Arghun, the Moghul appointee, had just been defeated by the rebellious Mirza Kamran—Babar's son—who was striving desperately to snatch suzerainty from his brother, Emperor Humayun. Shrewd statesman that he was, Mir Omer Khan lost no time in exploiting the family discord between the Moghul prince and the Emperor. He attacked the Moghuls in Kalat and succeeded in driving them away from Baluchistan. This victory of Mir Omer Khan could well have been a harbinger of Kalat as an independent Baluch State, for he promptly set himself to the task of consolidating it; but, as fate would have it, Mir Shaikhak Rind and Mir Gwaharam—the Baluch tribal Chiefs of Makran and Kirman respectively—invaded Kalat with a large combined army. Mir Omer Khan died a soldier's death on the battlefield. This unfortunate clash marked the beginning of fraternal feuds and bloodbaths among the Baluches.

Mir Bijar Khan, the son of Mir Omer Khan, was then a minor child at Mastung where he was being brought up by his maternal grandfather.

Drunk with success, Mir Shaikhak and Gwaharam advanced forward towards Kachhi in quest of further successes, leaving Mir Mando back in Kalat to govern the region, where he is said to have ruled for a few decades. Unfortunately, the two Chiefs themselves got entangled in mutual feuds which prolonged into what came to be known as the 30-year Rind-Lashari wars. Thousands of warriors on both sides were killed, and countless injured and disabled; and the result was a complete disintegration of Baluches, leaving both the major tribes reduced and permanently weakened. Following these tragic consequences, a majority of Baluch tribes left Baluchistan. Some of them migrated over to the interior of Sind, the Punjab and Delhi, where they settled down permanently; while others moved out towards Junagarh, Mysore and the Deccan in the south.

The famous Baluch hero, Mir Chakur Rind with his tribe, however, remained in the neighbourhoods of Sibi and Bolan regions for sometime before affiliating himself with the Moghuls in 1556. He died soon after, and lies buried in Sahiwal (Montgomery), which was then known as Satgarah.

These unfortunate wars and prolonged feuds, no doubt, reflect the inherent qualities of physical prowess, daring, tenacity and the indefatigable martial spirit of the character of the Baluches; but the way these enviable ethnic virtues were spent away in fraternal bloodbaths is indeed a sad chapter in the history of Baluches. These warring characteristics which could have been moulded into an asset for creating

a sovereign identity of their own in the region, instead sounded as the death-knell of their own futurity.

Inscrutable, indeed, are the ways of God!

The Rise of Mir Bijar Khan

Meanwhile, Mir Bijar Khan, as stated earlier, was growing into manhood at Mastung under the care of his grandfather. His grandfather's personal care and upbringing had developed him into a fearless and ferocious warrior burning with a compelling urge to avenge his father's death at the hands of his foes, and regain what he had lost. Accordingly, he organized his followers into a resolute force and attacked Kalat, where Mir Mando still sat on the throne. The lightning speed and fierceness of his attack was too much for Mir Mando and his men. Mir Mando was killed, and Kalat was once again redeemed by this valiant son of Mir Omer Khan. Consequently, adjoining regions like Dasht Goran, Nall, Hazargunji and Nachand, which had seceded and become independent principalities, were also subdued, and once again became parts of Kalat.

Mir Bijar Khan was a product of the times when Baluch tribal wars and feuds had reduced their identity to a set of disintegrated and subdued people. He, therefore, realized the need for tribal integration and a smooth system of administration, and accordingly divided and sub-divided the tribes into *Moatabarins* and *Sardars*, thus creating a semi-military set-up. Civil and military Jirgas were instituted along with an Upper House of Representatives; and a streamlined functional system of efficient governance was introduced.

These reforms naturally inculcated the requisite elements of proficiency and discipline in the rank and file of the State administration.

Having established his rule and put the administration on a sound functional basis, Mir Bijar Khan went off to Mecca for the incumbent performance of Haj. On his return from pilgrimage, he gave himself more to religion and pious contemplation than to the affairs of the State, which task he relied upon his officials to discharge with faithful honesty. He then retired to his ancestral home at Nafard Sorab, where he eventually died, after a period of deep religious dedication and devotional worship.

The retirement of Mir Bijar Khan from active participation in the affairs of the State had already undermined Baluch interests, for the courtiers had got themselves messed up in mutual intrigues and jealousies. Now, with the death of the Ruler, the situation which had already started degenerating, became all the more vulnerable. This was just the opportunity the ever-ambitious Mirza Kamran wanted for his designs; and he seized it without delay. The civil and military machinery of the State having become weak, all that now needed was to walk in. This he did; and Kalat fell to him practically without any resistance. Thus the throne of Kalat, which Mir Omer Khan had snatched from the Moghuls, was regained by the very man who had surrendered it.

Mirza Kamran was a shrewd observer of men and matters. Through personal experience he had come to know enough of the character of the Baluches. He realized that the Baluches were as noble off the battlefield as they were wicked on it; that they were as chivalrous in love and life as they were relentless in war; as violent with their swords as they were tameable in civility; and as resolute in their determination to stand by with their friends as they were true to their word, even if its recipient happened to be a foe. Thus summing them up, the first measure he took was to commit the tribal

Chiefs to an understanding with him and the Moghuls. For this, he assembled the nobles and Sardars of Kalat and made them take an oath to the effect that "under no circumstances would they harm or injure anybody by means of any weapon made of wood or iron".

A Baluch is quite shrewd and far-sighted with his rifle; but when it comes to diplomacy, he is as simple-minded and well-meaning as any straightforward Muslim can be! However, Mirza Kamran secured this oath.

Having achieved this, the Moghuls quite blatantly embarked on a policy of oppressive measures, so much so that the Baluches were tyrannized with all sorts of tortures and humiliations. The Baluches could have replied in similar terms, but they were bound by the sacred sanctity of the oath they had taken. They, therefore, braved these tortures and oppressions of the Moghul tyrant, Mirza Kamran.

Eventually, when Moghul sadism reached its peak, two desperate Dehwari Chiefs—Sardar Shamsuddin and Sardar Gwaharam—got together and devised a plan to get rid of Moghul high-handedness. They approached the resourceful Mirwari Chief, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, and opened their hearts to him. Accordingly, a scheme was laid out; and the *modus operandi* was that Sardar Shamsuddin and Sardar Gwaharam would find their way to kill the Moghul Governor in Kalat, and Sardar Ibrahim Khan Mirwari would follow it up with his *Lashkar* (army) in order to tackle and control the situation that would flare up following the murder.

With these arrangements, the two Dehwari Chiefs, accompanied by about a hundred selected followers, entered the Fort on the pretext of having an audience with the Governor. They had *birzanis* (hard lethal balls like baked

bread) stuck under their garments; and just as they got within striking distance, they attacked the Moghul Governor with a full volley of *birzanis* at point-blank range, killing him on the spot. Timing accurately, Sardar Ibrahim Khan Mirwari and his *Lashkar* appeared on the scene. There then ensued a fierce clash in which the Moghul officer in command was killed, and the garrison subdued. Kalat was thus once more retrieved by the Baluches.

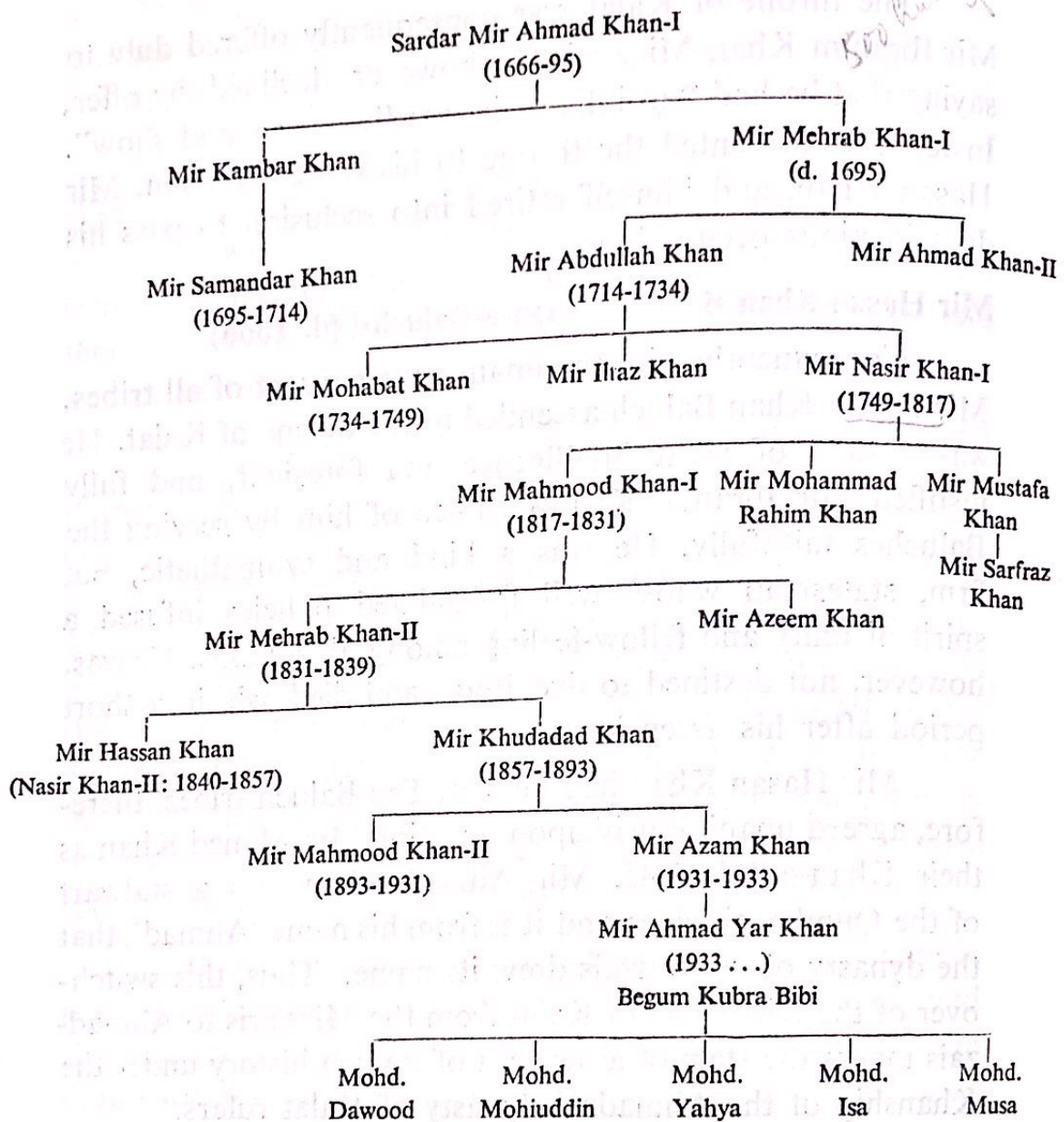
The throne of Kalat was consequently offered duly to Mir Ibrahim Khan Mirwari. He, however, declined the offer, saying that he had "no interest in wordly pomp and show". Instead, he presented the throne to his daughter's son, Mir Hasan Khan, and himself retired into seclusion to pass his days in pious occupations.

Mir Hasan Khan Baluch: Khan-e-Baluch-I (d. 1666)

Consequently with the unanimous consent of all tribes, Mir Hasan Khan Baluch ascended to the throne of Kalat. He was a man of great intelligence and foresight, and fully justified Mir Ibrahim Khan's choice of him by serving the Baluches faithfully. He was a kind and sympathetic, but firm, statesman whose well formulated policies infused a spirit of unity and fellow-feeling among all factions. He was, however, not destined to live long, and died within a short period after his ascension.

Mir Hasan Khan had no son. The Baluch tribes, therefore, agreed unanimously upon selecting Mir Ahmed Khan as their Khan-e-Baluch-II. Mir Ahmed Khan was a stalwart of the Qumbrani tribe; and it is from his name 'Ahmad', that the dynasty of Ahmedzais drew its name. Thus, this switch-over of the Khanship of Kalat from the Mirwaris to Ahmadzais marks the start of a new era of Baluch history under the Khanship of the Ahmadzai dynasty of Kalat rulers.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF AHMADZAI KHANS OF KALAT



People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors.

Edmund Burke

Chapter 5

The Dynastic Rule of Ahmadzais

Mir Ahmad Khan-I : Khan-e-Baluch-II (1666-95)

WE have seen in the previous chapter how Mir Ahmad Khan ascended to the throne in Kalat as Khan-e-Baluch-II after the death of Mir Hasan Khan Baluch of the Mirwari tribe in 1666. The special feature of the inauguration of Ahmadzai Khandom is that it was on the Coronation ceremony of Mir Ahmad Khan that the Baluch tribes instituted the solemn tradition of taking oath of loyalty and complete obedience to the ruler on the throne. This oath was worded thus:

“... We (the Baluches) shall obey the orders of the Khan-e-Baluch unreservedly without any objection; and we will not hesitate to sacrifice our all to protect the throne from its enemies.”

Thus mandated and solemnly assured by the tribes of the region, Mir Ahmad Khan set upon the task of consolidating the Khandom of Kalat. He lost no time in introducing necessary reforms in order to bring Kalat in line with other States. He founded a ‘Baluch Confederation’ comprising of

smaller units. A *Diwan* (Court) was established, consisting of the Sardars of all the tribes, and other dignitaries. The members of this Court served collectively as a representative panel from which the acknowledged Sardars were made responsible for the affairs of their respective tribes.

On the judicial side, a Council of Elders, officially called the *Baluch Jirga*, was formed. This body which consisted of the Sardars from all the tribes was empowered to decide cases and disputes. The disputants, however, had the right of appeal; and all such appeals were personally heard by the Khan-e-Baluch who would, if found necessary, over-rule or revise the verdict in due consultation with the members of the *Diwan*.

That Mir Ahmad Khan was democratic-minded is evident from the fact that each tribe was allotted a clearly specified area which was administered independently by the tribesmen and their local Sardars. There was no interference from the Centre in the day-to-day functioning of such autonomous areas unless, of course, interference was legally necessary under the prevalent laws of the State.

In 1667, Mir Ahmad Khan captured Mastung, Quetta and Pishin from Agha Jaffar, the Moghul Governor of Afghanistan. The Moghul Governor of Kachhi, too, had his eyes on Kalat; and had been ordering attack after attacks on the territory for no less than seventeen times, but without any decisive result. In the 18th attempt, however, the Moghuls were at last defeated finally. This victory of the Kalat army consequently extended the boundaries of Baluch Khandom as far north as the regions of Nushki and Jhalawan.

To sum up, it can safely be said that the period 1666-95 signifies the first democratic and well organized mode of

governance in Baluch history under Mir Ahmad Khan. He kept the ever-enterprising Moghuls at bay, and drove them back several times. He laid the foundations of Ahmadzai Khandom on very sound bases, free from internal discords and disturbances. His is the popular Baluchi adage: "*His head (i.e., the Khan-e-Azam's) is crowned with the word pledged by Baluches. The 'head' may be lost, but not the word.*" These words of Mir Ahmad Khan reflect the sentimental source of legitimacy of relationship between a ruler and the ruled.

Mir Ahmad Khan eventually died peacefully in 1695 after reigning for 29 years as the Khan-e-Baluch, and lies buried in Kalat—the seat of the Khandom he founded.

Mir Sakhi Samandar Khan: Khan-e-Baluch-III (1695-1714)

Upon the death of Mir Ahmad Khan, his son, Mir Mehrab Khan, ascended to the throne in 1695, but was soon killed on the battlefield, fighting against the Kalhoras of Sind. The executive body of Baluch tribes thereupon approved the ascension of the next incumbent, Mir Samandar Khan, the same year.

Literally true to his name, *Sakhi Samandar*, which in the vernacular means 'generous as an ocean', this Khan-e-Baluch was in truth exceptionally generous. This rare human virtue, combined with the noble qualities of sincerity, unassuming piety and boldness, made him a very popular and highly respected person, both as an individual as well as a ruler.

It was during his time that the Imperial army of Iran under the command of General Tahmasef Baig invaded Baluchistan. This Irani General, with a well-equipped army of 25,000, advanced towards Saryab. Mir Samandar Khan,

who was personally heading his army, intercepted the Irani army at a point between Saryab and Mastung, where he deployed his men in a frontal attack, with himself in the forefront.

In the fierce clashes that ensued, Mir Samandar Khan killed General Tahmasef in a single combat; and soon, the Irani army was routed.

Rao Mohammad and Noor Mohammad—the two Kalhora Chiefs—who long bore hostility towards the Moghuls, were arrested and taken over to Aurangzeb by Mir Samandar Khan who was awarded a handsome cash award along with the title of *Ameer-ul-Umra*, for this achievement. In addition to this, the sea-port of Karachi was also ordered to be handed over to Mir Samandar Khan as the blood-money in compensation for the killing of Mir Mehrab Khan at the hands of the Kalhoras. Further, the Kalhoras were also commanded by the Moghul Emperor to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 40,000 to the Khan-e-Baluch-III.

Mir Samandar Khan died in Kalat after an eventful reign of 19 years in 1714.

Mir Abdullah Khan : Khan-e-Baluch-IV (1714-34)

Mir Abdullah Khan, who was a minor when Mir Samandar Khan ascended to the Kalat throne, now succeeded him as the Khan-e-Baluch-IV. Mir Abdullah Khan had a commanding personality, and was a good strategist in the sphere of warfare, by virtue of which qualities he came to be called as the 'Mountain Hawk'. He ruled for a period of 15 years, during which his territory extended from Kandahar and Chaman to Kharan, Chagai and Shorawak, upto Makran and Port Abbas.

DYNASTIC RULE OF AHMADZAIS

Briefly put, his reign was marked with great activities, some of the important achievements being:

- (i) The capture of Kachhi, following the failure of Rao Mohammad Kalhora and Noor Mohammad Kalhora to continue paying him the annual tribute of Rs. 40,000, as agreed during the time of Mir Samandar Khan.
- (ii) The attack on Harand and Dajil, and the consequent capture of Dera Ghazi Khan as a result of complaints against its ruler.
- (iii) The victorious defence of Kalat against Ashraf Khan, the ruler of Ispahan, who had advanced towards Kalat after defeating Nadir Shah.
- (iv) The successful retaliatory action against Shah Hussain Khilji for the killing of Mir Mohammad Isa—one of his Generals—on the battlefield, who was defending his territory.
- (v) The defeat and retreat of the combined forces of Shah Husain of Kandahar and Noor Mohammad Kalhora who had invaded Kalat.

Lastly, he was fatally wounded by an arrow in the battle against the Kalhoras of Sind; and like a true and brave soldier that he was, he breathed his last, fighting heroically for his land. His heroic death drove the Baluches mad with fury; and they raged ruthlessly towards the towns and villages occupied by the Kalhoras, ransacking and killing them in their agony for the death of their beloved Khan-e-Baluch.

They no doubt inflicted a crushing defeat on their

enemy in this battle; but the loss of their precious 'Mountain Hawk' made this great victory look insignificant, emotionally.

Mir Mohabat Khan : Khan-e-Baluch-V (1737-1749)

Mir Mohabat Khan ascended to the throne in 1734 by virtue of being the eldest son of Mir Abdullah Khan; but within two years of his ascension, his younger brother, Iltaz Husain, replaced him as the Khan-e-Baluch-V. For a while thereafter, there followed frequent fraternal feuds occasioned by the disunity between the two brothers. The Sardars at last got fed up with these family squibs, and decided to dethrone the younger brother, Iltaz. Accordingly, they not only dethroned him but also handed him over to the Shah of Iran to be retained there as a hostage.

Mir Mohabat Khan was thus re-instated finally as their proper Khan-e-Baluch-V in 1737.

But by this time, owing to mutual quarrels between the two brothers, the Central character of Khandom was seriously impaired; and several of the subordinate regions lost no time in detaching themselves from the Central control.

Mir Mohabat Khan had a step-mother named Bibi Maryam, and a step-brother named Mir Nasir Khan. For reasons of his own, he sent away this lady and her son to Nadir Shah at Kandahar, where they remained till the latter brought them back with him when he subsequently marched against Delhi.

After the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, by which time he had subdued the Kalhoras also, Bibi Maryam requested Nadir Shah to hand over Ghulam Shah Kalhora to Mir Mohabat Khan as *Khoon Baha* (blood compensation) in

vengeance of his father's (Mir Abdullah Khan's) death at the hands of the Kalhoras. Nadir Shah accordingly obliged her; but Mir Mohabat Khan declined to slay the Kalhora. Instead, he accepted the region of Kachhi as a better measure of compensation.

After the violent death of Nadir Shah in 1747, his General, Ahmed Shah Durrani, proclaimed his independence and founded an independent Afghan Kingdom. This dramatic revolution provided the necessary opportunity for Bibi Maryam's son, Mir Nasir Khan, to escape from his virtual captivity which had so far kept him at bay. He sped off to Shiraz where he successfully negotiated an active help of the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Shah Wali Khan Bamizai, through whom he was able to win over the Baluch Sardars to his side. These Sardars who were by now completely disappointed and disgusted with Mir Mohabat Khan's wrong policies and maladministration, at last concurrently decided to replace him.

Thus it was that Mir Mohabat Khan was deposed; and Mir Nasir Khan was installed as the Khan-e-Baluch-VI in 1749.

Mir Nasir Khan : Khan-e-Baluch-VI (1749-1817)

Mir Nasir Khan (also known as Nasir Khan the Great and Nasir Khan Noori) is considered to be a unique ruler in the history of Baluch by virtue of sterling and extraordinary qualities of head and heart. Born with a sharp intellect and a philosophic bend of mind, he utilized his nine years of imposed 'captivity' under Nadir Shah in studying the history of nations; their rise and falls; their concepts and ideologies; and the role of religion in the shaping of individuals and States. Such was his bearing even as child that Nadir

Shah could not help observing: "This Baluch Prince is destined to become a great king in the future."

Mir Nasir Khan was a multi-natured personality of his time. He combined in himself the qualities of being religious without being a fanatic; a dashing reformer without being despotic; an able General with rare military foresight; and a firm statesman. In short, he represented a fairly true picture of the ideal 'philosopher-king' whom Plato has defined in his *Republic*.

He was the first ruler of the region who brought about healthy friendly relations with nations, and knit the tribal organization of the Baluches into one Baluch entity. He established a Baluch Parliament to function on a workable constitution based on Islamic *Shariat* (Laws) and congenial Baluch traditions. His devotion to Islam was so deep, and his piety so unshakeable, that people came to append the word *Wali*, meaning 'a saint', to his name. Mosques were constructed all over the State, and arrangements were made on Government level to collect *Zakat* (pool tax incumbent upon all Muslims); and laws militating against Islamic concepts were repealed. Through a special decree, he made *pardah* (veil) compulsory for all Muslim women irrespective of their age. In short, he rooted out all social evils and established a truly Islamic social order in Baluchistan. 'Turan'—the original name of the land—was changed to 'Baluchistan'.

Mir Nasir Khan's another significant achievement was the rooting out the Zikri sect, the doctrines of which negated the basic teachings of Islam. The Caliph in Turkey was so much impressed by his courageous services in the cause of Islam that he conferred upon him the distinguished titles of *Ghazi-e-Deen* (Hero of Islam) and *Nasir-e-Millat-e-Moham-*

madiya (the supporter of the followers of Prophet Mohammad, S.A.).

The outlawing of Zikri sect was siezed by the ambitious Ahmed Shah Abdali of Afghanistan as a serious issue; and using this incident as a pretext, he advanced towards Kalat in 1758 with his army. The Baluches put up a tenacious defence and fought fiercely. So sustained and stubborn was the Baluch resistance that their long siege tired the Afghan army, which finally had to enter into an agreement with Mir Nasir Khan. This agreement, which is known as the 'Agreement of Kalat', provided that "henceforth Baluch forces, under the command of Khan-e-Baluch would have their due share in all the future conquests of Ahmed Shah Abdali". Thus, what commenced as a bloody war ended as a happy union, which eventually proved to be a great source of strength to the Afghans.

Consequently, Mir Nasir Khan and the army of Baluches participated with Ahmed Shah Abdali in several expeditions; and in some battles, Nasir Khan was himself in command of the joint forces. His bold and victorious steering of the Battle of Meshed against the Persians, in particular, so greatly impressed the Afghan King that the latter gave him the title of *Brather-e-Wafadar* (the faithful brother), and made a present of the Shal region (now Quetta) to his mother, Bibi Maryam.

Similarly, it was Mir Nasir Khan again who, with his army of 25,000 Baluches, came to the help of Ahmed Shah Abdali at the famous Third Battle of Panipat in 1761. It was this combination of outstanding military valour and fighting skill which crushed once for all the rising Marhatta menace in northern India.

Victory Against the Sikhs

The Sikhs had formed themselves into a reckonable force as early as 1710, when they made their first incursions into the Upper Doab under Banda—a non-descript follower of Guru Govind Singh. They had sacked Saharanpur, Ambehtah and Nanavtah in the Upper Doab; but moved no further till after the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, when they once again resumed their infiltrations deeper into the region, finally capturing Lahore in 1764, where they established their short-lived Khalsa State extending from Jhelum to the banks of Jamuna.

It was then that they rose against the Muslims, whose condition was getting progressively weaker due to the onset of the general decline of the Moghul empire. Sensing the danger to the cause of Islam, Shah Waliullah of Delhi wrote to Ahmed Shah Abdali and Mir Nasir Khan, asking them to help their brethren-in-faith. This was an open call for *Jihad* (religious war); and Abdali and the Khan-e-Baluch-VI, Mir Nasir Khan, responded readily to it, the latter's contribution being a contingent of 12,000 warriors headed by himself in the front.

Thus it was that a combined Muslim army of Afghans and Baluches marched into India to meet their common foe in 1765. As always, Nasir Khan was in the forefront; but in this particular engagement, he was more enthusiastic and reckless than ever, for if he fell on the battlefield, it would mean *Shahadat* (martyrdom)—a Divine distinction which every true Muslim must live for.

And it so happened that while Mir Nasir Khan was piercing his way on his horse through the Sikh ranks in a furious outburst near Lahore, he fell off his steed; and as

he fell to the ground, the turban he was wearing got loose. As a result, his long hair popped out from beneath his headwear. One of the Sikh combatants noticing the fall, rushed out at him with the sword to secure what could have been his 'prize-kill'. But as fate would have it, another Sikh hastily halted his comrade's blow in the nick of time, saying that the man (*i.e.*, Nasir Khan) was a *Khalsa* (Sikh)!

The Sikh had naturally mistaken the turbanless Nasir Khan for a Sikh! For, his long hair had the unmistakeable communal resemblance.

However, by the time the Sikhs became aware of their self-deception, Nasir Khan was once again on his feet; and the other Baluch swordsmen, too, charged and drove back the Sikhs, who eventually suffered a crushing defeat and retreated in haste.

On returning to his camp after the encounter, Mir Nasir Khan immediately sent for a barber and got his long hair and beard cropped short in strict accordance with the requirements of *Shariat* (Islamic code of conduct).

For a long time after this, he regretted to have missed the enviable attainment of martyrdom in the cause of Islam on account of his resemblance to a *Kafir* (infidel) just because of his misleading long hair and a flowing beard.

The Baluches under their Khan had fought so gallantly and successfully against the Sikhs that Ahmed Shah Abdali was delighted to express his appreciation and gratitude in these words:

"Khan! You once helped us, the Afghans, to become free from the slavery of the Persians by giving them

a crushing defeat; and now once again, on the battlefield of the Panjab, you have earned our gratitude for the selfless and gallant fight against the Sikhs, for which we are proud of you."

MILITARY ORGANIZATION UNDER NASIR KHAN

I must here assert that Baluches are inherently a militant group of tribes. This statement is further substantiated (not that the fact needs any confirmation) by Firdausi in his famous *Shahnama* in these words:

همی پهلوی و دمی کوچ و باوج سکا لید، ناند، مانند قوج

Thus, we see Baluches depicted as: "People with a warlike spirit, wearing exalted plumes, like the cock's comb, on their turbans."

Baluch society, since ancient times, has essentially been military-oriented. The annals of Baluch history bear testimony to the fact that even its women-folk and children were remarkably skilled in marksmanship and horse-riding. In fact, every male in the tribe who wore a *shalwar* was a perfect soldier. The Baluches, therefore, never needed to maintain a 'regular army' as understood in the modern sense of the word. Martial spirit and pursuits were an integral part of their lives. As such, one can almost say that every Baluch home was an epitome of an army by itself. Thus, though there was no 'recruited' army, every young and able-bodied man in the tribes held himself in readiness for action whenever his Sardar made the call.

However, with the passage of time and evolution of tribal Chieftaincy through the ages, the concept of war-craft underwent a steady transformation, till eventually

it assumed the form of a collective fighting force comprising of baggage-men, footmen, infantrymen, cavalrymen and other essential personnel.

Mir Nasir Khan, himself an accomplished fighter and commander—who had tackled Indian insurgent elements like the Marhattas and Sikhs, and had watched the Afghan and Persian techniques of warfare—realized the necessity of maintaining a well-organized army for his Khandom. Accordingly, he chose and stationed a permanent army unit, called *Dasta-e-Darbar* (Palace Regiment) in his capital, numbering 1,200 men. In emergencies, three additional Divisions used to be raised from among the tribes. These reinforcement units were called *Dasta-e-Khas* (Special Division); *Dasta-e-Doem* (Second Division) or the 'Sarawan Lashkar'; and *Dasta-e-Soem* (Third Division) or the 'Jhalawan Lashkar'. The Khan-e-Baluch, Mir Nasir Khan, was the Supreme Commander of this whole body of the State army.

With each *Dasta* or Division went a long retinue of *Loris* (artisans), poets, *Hakeems* (physicians), and surgeons accompanied by adequate personnel and non-combatants to man supplies, transport and communication. The *Loris* formed, as it were, a 'mobile workshop' during war time, repairing damaged arms, spears, swords, saddles, horse-shoes, tents and other military wares at the base camps not far off from the scene of action. Their services were thus indispensable to the fighting units.

The *Raizwars* or poets and ballad-singers, too, played an important role during military engagements, inspiring the warriors and maintaining their morale with their moving verses and melodious eulogies of the warriors' bravery on the battlefield. These poets and bards were, in

fact, the chroniclers, of dates and events of past as well as contemporary history, who preserved the age-long traditions of the Baluches and their fearless performances of valour and chivalry, both on and off the field.

The *Hakeems* or physicians and surgeons came from the venerable class of Muslims, known as *Saadats*. Well-versed in religion as well as in medicine and surgery, they played a dual role, treating the wounded and the sick, and leading the congregational prayers and preaching the temporal and spiritual values of *Jehad* (religious war). Belonging to the genealogical lineage of the Holy Prophet, they commanded a high place and reverence in the esteem of all.

The Dehwars, Jamotes, Jats and Hindus were in charge of supplies and transport and other executive works of the war machinery. The Hindus dealt mainly with supply of rations to the units.

Thus, the entire tribal community contributed its might in an apportioned manner during military engagements, with each single Baluch actively involved in his respective operation on the field and at the base.

A word about the army formations and their mode of deployment will not be amiss here. I have already mentioned that the State army comprised of three main Divisions, namely *Dasta-e-Khas* (the Special Division), *Dasta-e-Doem* (Sarawan Division), and *Dasta-e-Soem* (the Jhalawan Division). The constituents and strength of each of these Divisions were as under:

The Special Division

This 10,120-strong Division (*Dasta-e-Khas*) was in the personal command of the Khan-e-Azam and placed

as the central formation, flanked by the Sarawan Lashkar on the right, and the Jhalawan Lashkar on the left. The tribe-wise break-up of this force was:

1. Zagar Mengal	
2. Lasi	1,000
3. Kharani	1,000
4. Sanjrani	1,000
5. Marri	1,000
6. Bugti	1,000
7. Derajati	1,000
8. Makrani	2,000
9. Mirwani	1,000
10. Qumbarani	100
11. Altazai	50
12. Gurnari	50
13. Qalandarani	100
14. Samalani	100
15. Mroduni	200
16. Dehwar	200
17. Dehwar of Mastung	60
18. Jamali	60
	200
Total:	10,120

The Jhalawan Division

This Division (*Dasta-e-Doem*) numbering 5,800 comprised of tribes settled in Sarawan, and was commanded by the Sardar of the Raisani tribe. Its tribe-wise constituents were:

1. Raisani	300
2. Shahwani	800
3. Bangulzai	500
4. Kurd	500

INSIDE BALUCHISTAN

5. Mohammad Shahi	300
6. Sarprah	300
7. Lahri	300
8. Rind	800
9. Lango	500
10. Parkari	150
11. Dehwar of Kalat	50
12. Various tribes from Kachhi	300
13. Tribes from Khangarh (Jacobabad)	500
14. Tribes from Nasirabad	500

Total: 5,800

The Jhalawan Division

Numbering 4,500, this Jhalawani Lashkar (*Dasta-e-Soem*) was under the command of the Sardar of the Zarakzai clan of Zahri tribe, and comprised of the following other tribes:

1. Zahri	800
2. Mohammad Hasani	800
3. Bizenjo	300
4. Mengal	1,000
5. Magsi	800
6. Sasoli	300
7. Khadrani	100
8. Nichari	100
9. Jatak	100
10. Bajoi	100
11. Sajdi	100

Total: 4,500

DYNASTIC RULE OF AHMADZAIS

Military Intelligence

Obtaining of intelligence has always been the most important and integral aspect of warfare since time immemorial. Termed as *Chari* in the Baluchi language, this unit or *Dasta*, functioned as the Intelligence Corps of the Khan-e-Azam's armed forces, its primary purpose being the gathering of information of military value. This unit of picked intelligence men was charged with the mission of supplying information upon which the plan of action would be chalked out. These men would move out as *Charis* or scouts, from the base camp and penetrate as far deep into the No-man's land as safely possible in order to reconnoitre the field and observe the enemy positions, assess their strength and number of cattle, and the possible mode of deployment. The news these scouts brought back would determine the plan and technique of action. If the information they gathered warranted a surprise night attack, the Commander and the ranks would plan their move accordingly. This action was called *Pasara*. If on the other hand, the scouts reported the enemy positions as poised for forward advance at any moment, the situation then called for another technique, called *Maidan*, i.e., frontal engagement in the open.

If we examine this ancient technique of *Pasara*, it will be seen that the modern guerilla warfare is but a developed manifestation of these techniques employed by the Baluches in their raids centuries back.

The *modus operandi* of *Pasara*, or night attack, was that, based on the intelligence report of the *Charis*, or scouts, the army would move forward under the cover

of night; and getting as close to the enemy positions as they could without raising any suspicion, they would entrench themselves at a convenient striking distance. This halt, or *tamb* as it was called, was virtually a lull before the storm. The men, breathing watchfully in grim silence, would wait while whispered orders were passed around, specifying the place they should meet at on the morrow with their spoils. An agreed timing of attack would then be fixed at a precise moment of the darkest hour nearest the dawn. The men would then wait resolutely, perhaps making mental calculation of the 'prizes' that would fall to them a few hours hence.

And then, with the arrival of the crucial zero-hour, the horsemen would spring out simultaneously like a cavalcade of untamed fury, followed in the rear by the footmen with their swords and spears; and the enemy, taken unawares, would thus find it wiser to do something other than being chopped like a ripe harvest.

Likewise, if a *Pasara*, or night attack, was not feasible, and the *Charis*, or intelligence men, had reported a possible surprise initiative by the enemy, the army would accordingly prepare to meet the situation. For this, men were posted in a chain at suitable distances around the camp, each person being replaced in turn by another fresh sentinel during the watch round the clock. If the enemy launched a full-scale attack, the combatants of the State army would ensconce themselves in the crevices on the hill slopes nearby, and roll down heavy boulders upon the advancing hordes. But more often than not, they would issue forth into the open field the moment they espied the onrush of the enemy. Usually, all the three Divisions joined battle as one co-ordinated force with two flanks and one centre.

Baluch traditional weapons of war numbered six, as per a lullaby which Baluch mothers even today sing emotionally to the babies at their breasts or in the cradle. This is how a mother wishes to see her son in his manhood:

"May Alam Din (the son) grow into a white-clothed youth and bind on his person the six weapons: shield, gun and dagger, and carry his own quiverful of arrows and the Shirazi sword of the Rinds. May he ride a swift mare."

Thus, a Baluch mother not only suckles her son with her divine lacteal fluid, but also at the same time instils a martial spirit in her infant through her maternal secretions, longing to see him grow into a fearless youth.

However, during the times of Mir Nasir Khan, Baluch military were consisted mostly of matchlocks, pistols (*durhani*), swords, daggers, shields and bags (*kisag*) containing gunpowder. Matchlocks and pistols were used for making a target of the enemy at a distance; but when the fighting became a hand-to-hand affair, the traditional weapons like the swords, shields and the daggers would come into their full play. These light and handy weapons were home-made; for practically every Baluch was a competent armourer during his leisure time. Mending and making these implements of war was a pastime of the ever-vigilant youths of Baluch tribal society. Nevertheless, it was also always an appealing pursuit for the tribesmen to snatch weapons from their enemies and preserve them as cherished souvenirs, which changed hands from father to son as valuable articles of family inheritance.

Development of Artillery

Artillery had not yet made its appearance in Baluch engagements on the front. The honour of introducing artillery in this part of the Indian subcontinent goes to Khan-e-Azam Mir Nasir Khan, who did so when he returned victoriously after humbling the Marhattas at the famous Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, in co-ordination with Ahmed Shah Abdali of Afghanistan.

In the initial stages, the entire artillery strength comprised of only four cannons manned by 100 men, who formed a regular unit of the State army. However, by the time of Mir Khudadad Khan, the Khan-e-Baluch-X (1857-93), the artillery unit grew to 300 artillery-men with 12 standard-size and several small-size cannons, all of which were of British make.

It was an established policy of my grandfather, Mir Khudadad Khan, to place each of his sons in full command of one of his Regiments. These princes would perform the regular duties of a Commandant on parade grounds during peace-time, as well as during actual army engagements on the battlefield. I have seen my father, Mir Azam Jan, the Khan-e-Baluch-XII, in the position and role of a Commandant of the Artillery Regiment of the State army.

Apart from other Divisions, my grandfather maintained a regular Reserve Force of 500 men, excluding the 300-strong artillery unit. This group was called *Amala*. Similarly, he had a cavalry unit of another 500 men, called *Risala*. All these various units and Divisions functioned with an auxiliary force of 1,000, who supplemented the total army as the Transport Unit.

Transport

There were 1,000 sound-bred camels for transport purposes which were used during campaigns and long marches. One man was in charge of four camels. One hundred horses and camels of the finest pedigree were reserved for the transport of Court nobles, State officials, eldersmen, *Saadats* and other high ranking persons.

Whenever the Khan-e-Azam used to travel between Kalat and Kachhi, a retinue of 1,000 camels would accompany him, alternating with another 1,000 camels which rested for future occasions.

Donkeys, too, had their due share in civil as well as military activities, these domesticated animals being used mainly by lower cadres like *Loris*, cooks and other such personnel.

This, then, is a brief account of achievements during the period of Mir Nasir Khan's life which eventually ended in 1817, leaving his loving and beloved people in a state of long lasting anguished mourning. The Shahinshah of Iran, Mubarak Hussain Safvi, was deeply moved and sent a special message of condolence to the Baluch people.

May Allah rest the soul of this great patriotic son of the soil in perpetual peace. *Ameen*.

Mir Mahmood Khan-I : Khan-e-Baluch-VII (1817-31)

The general political scene in the Indian subcontinent during the period presently under discussion had fast changed into an unstable phase. The English East India Company which Sir Thomas Roe had established as a commercial enterprise in 1615 at Surat had by now assumed a

political complex; and British diplomacy had succeeded in converting what was initially an English commercial adventure into British Viceroyship over India. The Marhattas, Sikhs and Gurkhas were almost subdued; and Warren Hastings—the East India Company's Governor in Bengal—was now the symbol of British paramountcy in India as Lord Hastings, the first Viceroy. These Anglo-Indian wars had brought about the establishment of British rule over the whole of India except Kashmir, Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab.

Serious developments were also going apace on the North-western neighbouring kingdom of Afghanistan. This mountainous country on the map of Asia has always been occupying a historic and strategic position ever since the Aryans resorted to it as the 'gate-way' to India. As such, Afghanistan and its people—the Afghans—figure prominently in the pages of the history of the Indian sub-continent. Practically all conquerors who made inroads into India invariably used this country as their passage, and its people either as subdued subjects or as allies; and the fact that the majority of Afghans speak the Persian language, rather than Pashto which only a minority speaks, shows that culturally as well as geographically their affiliations are more westwards than eastwards in an ethnological context. For, according to their own genealogical records, the Afghans are the descendants of the Bani-Isra'el. They had initially hailed from Egypt and Palestine through Iraq and Iran to the land now called Afghanistan.

However, to resume our account, Shah Shuja was the King in Afghanistan, and the British were the virtual rulers of India when Mir Mahmood Khan-I ascended to the throne of Kalat in 1817 as the Khan-e-Baluch-VII after Mir Nasir Khan the Great. He was a mere boy of seven years of

age at this time. Akhund Mohammad Mullazada was, therefore, appointed as the Regent to run the administration in the minor's name till he reached the required age of maturity.

Mir Mahmood Khan had two younger brothers—Mir Mustafa Khan and Mir Rahim Khan. As it so often happens when the ruling authority is paralleled, the central Government at Kalat was surrounded with ambitious opportunists who sought to capitalize on what was a vulnerable situation with a minor boy on the throne. As a consequence, the State administration and upkeep of internal security grew progressively weaker; and the Khandom of Kalat continued passively for some time till Mir Behram Khan revolted against the State. His revolt was, however, curbed successfully with the help of the King of Afghanistan. No sooner was this over than the Talpurs of Sind rose and captured Karachi; and the Kalat Government, already weakened and docile by now, could do nothing about it. On top of this came Mir Ali Sher Bugti—the Sardar of Kachhi, and the Jam of Lasbela with their uprisings.

This was the factual situation when Mir Mahmood Khan-I died and was buried in the Royal graveyard in Kalat in 1831.

Mir Mehrab Khan-II (Shaheed): Khan-e-Baluch-VIII (1831-39)

Mir Mehrab Khan, the eldest son of Mir Mahmood Khan, stepped on to the throne of Kalat at a time when things were shaping badly in the Khandom. It was only by sheer dint of his patriotic zeal and characteristic resoluteness and a firm determination that he steered his ancestral State through a very trying period of its history; for he had to fight on two fronts: internal as well as external.

Externally, the political affairs in Afghanistan were fast degenerating into a chaotic state with Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk a king only in name. The British India under Lord William Bentinck, and subsequently under Sir Charles Metcalfe, was wooing the ruling Chiefs in Sind. British interest in this region was two-fold: one being the geographical fact that it was a good base for military operations against the Afghans, a good barrier against possible Russian aggression; and the other factor was that the Indus valley was highly useful for commercial exploitation.

Internally, Mir Mehrab Khan was faced with the cunning intrigues of selfish Sardars of his court, who were playing a double game. On one hand, they pressed him to fight the British and the King of Afghanistan; and on the other, they spied for these powers and coaxed them to invade Baluchistan.

As observed above, King Shah Shuja of Afghanistan who was facing dangerous disorders in his Kingdom aggravated further by his rival—Dost Mohammad of the Barukzai clan—now sought safety in political assylum in the Punjab. The Russians endorsed this voluntary move by Shah Shuja; and Mir Mehrab Khan, too, accorded him due respect and hospitality. Thus hosted by the Khan-e-Baluch, Shah Shuja was apparently assured of safe escort to Punjab through Baluchistan by the help of the British agents and the Sikhs.

Shah Shuja, however, turned out to be an extremely ungrateful, dishonest and unscrupulous person. He 'repaid' Baluch hospitality and sympathy by goading the British to invade Kalat; and he cleverly timed this treachery at a time when the bulk of Baluch tribes were far away from their homes

on expeditions in the interior of Sind. It is a fact of history that the British rulers were past-masters in winning over loyalties and exploiting situations created by self-seeking opportunists.

Thus, the stage was now set for the British to act according to the conspiracy they had so cleverly hatched with the connivance of Shah Shuja and the Sikhs. Accordingly, British contingents, in cooperation with the army of the fugitive Afghan king and the Sikhs swept over Kalat like a wild tempest in 1839.

Mir Mehrab Khan, as stated earlier, had only about 300 warriors around him. Akhund Mohammad Siddiq Khan, one of his advisers, counselled him to take refuge for the time being. But this Khan-e-Baluch was not the man to avoid a glorious death for a life of humiliation. He saw his fate, and realized what was to befall him. Like a true Muslim and an undaunted patriot, he declined the advice of his well-wisher, saying:

"I cannot leave my country at this grave hour. My ancestors have ruled over this country under the most adverse conditions. Allah the Almighty is my witness that I am offering my head purely and sincerely in His way, come what may! I earnestly hope and pray to him to bestow martyrdom upon me."

Saying this, Mir Mehrab Khan jumped into the fray with the sword in his hand. His small band of faithful comrades also followed suit. The fury and courage with which these handful of patriots fought and fell will always remain preserved in the history of Baluchistan in letters of gold.

Patriotism in its pure form knows no religious barriers; and the Hindus of Kalat, too, proved their loyalty to the State and the ruler. One Khemchand, in particular, even offered his youthful sons for participation in the battle.

"Hindus are *Zimmis* (State liabilities)", explained Mir Mehrab Khan, "and as such, are free from the obligation of *Jehad* (war in the cause of Islam)."

The Hindus were so moved by this sagacious answer of their Khan that they promptly accepted Islam in order to prove their loyalty to their land of birth by fighting and dying for it; and eventually they attained martyrdom, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the other Muslim compatriots.

Thus ended the mortal life of Mir Mehrab Khan-II, who fell after braving thirteen bullet wounds and numerous sword-cuts all over his body; and besides and around him lay his faithful comrades, too.

The British thus won their victory over the lifeless bodies of the Khan-e-Baluch-VIII and his faithful comrades; and as per their pre-conceived plan, installed Mir Mohabat Khan's grandson, Mir Shah Nawaz Khan, as the ruler of Kalat; and also appointed their Political Agent in the State to ensure that the new ruler functioned according to his advice.

The treacherous exiled Afghan king, Shah Shuja, was duly rewarded with the presentation of two districts—Kachhi and Mastung—as the 'prize' for the mean role he had played against one who had been hospitable to him at a time when his very life was in danger.

Divine retribution, however, never misses such dishonest monarchs; for, shortly afterwards, Shah Shuja lost his

own throne in Afghanistan once for all to Dost Mohammad of the rival clan of the Barukzais.

It must be stated at this stage that the martyred Mir Mehrab Khan had a son who had been initially named as Mir Mohammad Hasan. Later, however, Mir Mehrab Khan changed his son's name to Mir Nasir Khan-II, after that of his (Mir Mohammad Hasan's) great-grandfather, Nasir Khan-I. In view of the insecure conditions prevailing then, Mir Mehrab Khan had sent away this son with Darogha Gul Mohammad Kalati to a safer place where he was lodged under the custody of the Mengal and other tribes. Before bidding farewell to his son, Mir Mehrab had given him certain personal instructions which were to be respected and acted upon as his last will.

Thus, Nasir Khan-II was away when the British patronized Mir Shah Nawaz by placing him on the vacant throne, which was what they wanted in their own political interests. But the victory of the British was by no means a final seal upon the dynastic Khandom of the Ahmadzai rulers. On the contrary, the fall of Kalat served as a lull before the storm; for this transitory debacle actually inspired the indefatigable martial spirit of the self-conscious Baluch tribal stalwarts and Chiefs, who resolved with their characteristic tenacity and determination to wrest their land from the clutches of alien usurpers, and restore it to its proper ancestral and rightful owner.

Accordingly, they mobilized themselves for a do-or-die offensive against the British forces. The most outstanding among these tribal Chiefs were Sardar Doda Khan; his son, Mir Deen Mohammad Marri; and Muqaddam Haibat Khan Loharani, who embarked upon a series of clashes, killing British soldiers by thousands.

The British now realized that as long as Nasir Khan-II was in Baluch hands, things would continue to go disastrously for them. They, therefore, wanted to get hold of him at any cost; and with this intention they launched a general massive attack on Nushki and Panjgur regions. This action aroused the wrath of every tribe throughout Baluchistan; and what followed was a ceaseless frenzy of swords and guns. The Marri tribe was the first to score a headway into the enemy's ranks, who were now on the defensive. A few more violent thrusts by this group of Marri stalwarts eventually forced the British to seek safety in retreat, which they were wise enough to do hastily towards their base.

Nasir Khan-II, like a sound strategist that he was, pushed the advantage further by sweeping upon the cornered British forces in a lightning surprise night attack with a 4,000-strong army of Baluches. The British were crushed and defeated utterly, and had to abandon their plans.

The early dawn of the first day of August in 1840 yawned into a bright morning with Kalat once again in the possession of its rightful ruler, Mir Nasir Khan-II, who re-occupied the lost throne of his martyred father as Khan-e-Baluch-IX with due pomp and jubilation throughout the State.

Mir Nasir Khan-II : Khan-e-Baluch-IX (1840-57)

Mir Nasir Khan-II ascended to the Kalat throne like a true war-hero of the Baluches, as we have seen above. The British were out-manoeuvred politically as well as militarily. It was, therefore, as well that they recognized him as the lawful ruler; and this they did diplomatically by attending the coronation ceremony of Mir Nasir Khan-II as the Khan-e-Baluch-IX. This was, however, an outward gesture, for in their heart of hearts they still harboured a burning desire

for revenge, as is evident from the developments that followed subsequently.

The re-taking of Kalat throne by Nasir Khan-II had seriously undermined the plans which the British had devised for entrenching themselves in a more safer position as the wholesale masters of India. So, in the true fashion of their notorious divide-and-rule policy they once again started fanning the flames of war secretly. This time, they schemed out a two-pronged assault on Kalat. They wooed Afghanistan and secured help from Kandahar on the northern borders. Nearer home, they helped the deposed Mir Shah Nawaz Khan by contriving to draw into their net the Chieftains in Sind, the Rohillas and the Punjabies who, for reasons of their own, readied themselves jointly to invade Kachhi in Baluchistan.

Mir Nasir Khan-II, who had gauged and foreseen the certainty of renewed engineering of mischief, was fully prepared for all eventualities; and so, when the attack came, he confronted them with his *Lashkar* which by now was capable of defending the honour of their land. The enemies were thus repulsed with heavy losses in life and weapons.

The British were now more than worried. Nasir Khan-II had been fighting them continuously for three years almost without a respite; and the militant Baluch tribes—Marris and Bugtis—and the unyielding warrior clans of Sarawan and Jhalawan, who formed a part of the Khan's *Lashkar*, were as indomitable as ever. Added to this was the deep concern of the British about the increasing Russian influence in the north. Therefore, something had to be done now that Nasir Khan was enlarging the scope of his military achievements. They had seen and tasted his genius on several battle fronts; and they

realized with a ghastly apprehension that if this fearless Khan was allowed to continue with his plans of exterminating their very presence, their own scheme of ruling indefinitely over India would fall flat.

So, the British now started thinking of getting rid of Nasir Khan by means other than of chivalry on the battlefield. For this, they spotted out certain ambitious and selfish persons among the Khan's courtiers, and eventually had him poisoned at Gandava, where this brave son of the soil breathed his last, saying in his last painful gasps: "Alas! I cannot take a full measure of revenge upon the English".

Thus ended the life of a gallant ruler whom his enemies failed to subdue, but whom his own Court-parasites betrayed in the most cowardly way.

Nasir Khan-II commanded a great respect and honour in the esteem of Baluch society. The whole of Baluchistan was shocked at the devilish manner in which his life was cut short; and for several days the entire land remained under profuse mourning for their departed hero who, like his namesake—Nasir Khan-I—had given a new meaning and purpose to their social identity.

There are several interesting and popular anecdotes relating to his wit and frankness. Once at a conference of Afghan and British envoys at his court, one of the latter asked:

"In what actual manner can we assure Your Highness of our selflessness and sincerity towards you?"

"It is simple", replied Nasir Khan promptly, "Just stay away from the borders of Baluchistan."

"And what, in the opinion of Your Highness, are the borders of Baluchistan?", they pressed him further.

"My ancestor and namesake, Nasir Khan Noori, had already replied in geographical terms to a similar question long ago; and I repeat: 'all those regions where the Baluches are settled are part and parcel of our State'."

Mir Khudadad Khan: Khan-e-Baluch-X (1857-93)

Mir Khudadad Khan, the younger brother of Nasir Khan-II, who was hardly sixteen years of age when the latter was poisoned, now succeeded to the throne of Kalat. But the British, whose authority was now limited upto Jacobabad, had their own designs in the matter. They supported his cousin, Mir Sherdil Khan, and succeeded in placing him on the throne. However, within a year, they got fed up with his ways, and ultimately killed him through the services of one Sher Khan.

Thus, Mir Khudadad Khan resumed the affairs of the State once again in 1858 as the Khan-e-Baluch-X.

Mir Khudadad Khan found the affairs of Baluch territories in a miserable state of confusion and mutual strifes. He, therefore, set himself at once to the task of putting matters right. He replaced the British troops in his State with three Baluch regiments; introduced an effective audit system in offices handling finances; and brought about several other socio-economic and administrative reforms. He was a very shrewd observer, and very expertly spotted the weaknesses of his subjects. He, therefore, resorted to the power of money and appeasements by paying out generous monetary allowances, conferring *Khilats* (robes of honour) and other costly presents to the tribal Chiefs.

These measures no doubt had the desired effects; but at the same time, this generosity of Mir Khudadad Khan also created a circle of some selfish and greedy Sardars around him. It generally happens that when diverse elements commence to assemble on a common plane, they invariably end up in mutual animosities and divided loyalties. This is exactly what happened with Mir Khudadad Khan. Mutual tribal jealousies and quarrels eventually led to the need of arbitration. The Sardars, therefore, decided that in case of disputes or differences of opinion arising between them, Sir Robert Sandeman, the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, be empowered to act as the arbitrator. Little did they realize that, in effect, their decision was in no way less than a charter for the British to interfere in the internal affairs of Kalat. Perhaps, one of the defects of democracy is that one has to acquiesce to majority's decisions even if they happen to be packing in political sagacity.

However, the British gripped the situation hungrily like a hunter cornering a lion in its own den. Nothing suited them better than this opportunity; and they siezed it with both hands. And eventually it was this British grip on Baluchistan through Kalat that grew tighter and tighter till at last they entrenched themselves firmly in this strategic province, when in 1893, they arrested Mir Khudadad Khan in Quetta, and installed his son, Mir Mahmood Khan-II on the Kalat throne in his place.

Sir Robert Sandeman, therefore, is rightly described by British chroniclers as the "Conqueror of Baluchistan", for, with the arrest of Mir Khudadad Khan, Baluch suzerainty virtually ceased to exist.

The Khan-e-Baluch, Mir Khudadad Khan, remained



Mir Khudadad Khan (the author's grandfather) as a Baluch youth.



Mir Khudadad Khan as Khan-e-Baluch-X (1857-93).



Mir Khudadad Khan (Khan-e-Baluch-X) with Sir Robert Sandeman, A.G.G., Baluchistan, and Baluch Sardars at the Mastung Convention in 1893.



Mir Mahmood Khan-II—Khan-e-Baluch-XI (1893-1931).



*Mir Mahmood Khan-II (Khan-e-Baluch-XI) with Sir James Brown,
A.G.G., Baluchistan (1893) and other officials.*



*The author's father, Mir Mohammad Azam Jan
(Khan-e-Kalat: 1931-33).*

confined in the prison at Loralai, where he died on the 21st of May in 1909.

Mir Mahmood Khan-II : Khan-e-Baluch-XI (1893-1931)

The Coronation ceremony of Mir Mahmood Khan-II took place in Quetta on the 10th May, 1893, under the surveillance of Sir James Brown, the Agent to the Governor-General of India. The new Khan was by nature a weak ruler. He was just the sort of man most fitted to British political ends. He functioned virtually like a dummy; and practically all Court and administrative orders were passed by the British Agent in the name of the Khan-e-Baluch-XI.

Taking due cognizance of the progressive deterioration of affairs in Kalat, a sincere dignitary, Sardar Mir Yousuf Khan, set off on a tour of India to apprise the Indian masses of the situation obtaining in Baluchistan. He was, however, arrested by the British authorities who naturally did not like the outside world to know of the ugly realities in Baluchistan. Meanwhile, Mahmood Khan-II died in 1931, and was buried in the ancestral graveyard in Kalat.

Mir Mohammad Azam Jan: Khan-e-Baluch-XII (1931-1933)

Mir Mohammad Azam Jan, the third son of Mir Khudadad Khan, now succeeded to the throne on the 9th December, 1931; but the formal Coronation ceremony of his succession was held on the 26th of April, 1932, when Lord Willington, the then Viceroy of India, personally attended the Darbar. Khan Bahadur Gul Mohammad Khan was made the Prime Minister of Kalat.

On 3rd June, 1932, Mir Mohammad Azam Jan was conferred with the honour of G.C.I.E. by His Majesty the Emperor George V. Mir Azam Jan was a staunch Muslim by temperament; but he was also a man of progressive ideas within the framework of Islamic concepts. He immediately set himself to the task before him; but the hardships and intermittent imprisonments he had suffered earlier in his life had toned him down to a docile man. Yet, in his heart of hearts, he wished to get rid of the clutches of the Britishers.

Thus, when Baluch political leaders started their 'Quit Baluchistan' movement, he quietly encouraged his influential friends like Nawabzada Yousuf Ali Khan, Mir Abdul Aziz Khan Kurd, Malik Faiz Mohammad Yusufzai, Mir Mohammad Hussain Unqa, Dr. Faiz Mohammad Khan Tamandar Marri, Nawabzada Mir Abdur Rahman Khan Bugti, and others to support the move against the alien rulers. The famous Ali Brothers—Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali—were also in constant touch with Mir Azam Jan who assured them of his fullest cooperation in their struggle for the freedom of India from the British yoke.

Mir Mohammad Azam Jan, however, was not destined to live long enough, for hardly two years after his ascension, he died on 9th September, 1933; and it now fell upon my humble self to assume the reins of the Khanship of Kalat. It was a red-letter day for me when on the 20th of the same month in 1933 I ascended to the throne. Henceforth it was my task to shoulder all the burdens and responsibilities which, like all dedicated rulers, I was to face in the years to come. But before I commence with the historic events that followed, I deem it necessary to give a brief background of my early life, followed by the account of my role as the Khan-e-Baluch-XIII.



KALAT: MAJOR H. H. Mir Haji Sir AHMAD YAR KHAN, G.C.I.E., BEGLAR BEGI, AMIR-UL-AMARA, GHALIB JANG BAHADUR, Khan of Kalat.

Born: 1904. *Educated:* Privately by special tutors. Received Military training in the regular army; served as Captain and Adjutant in Zhob Militia. His Highness speaks Iranian, Pushtu, Baluchi, Brohi, Urdu, and English languages fluently.

Hobbies: Riding, Hunting and Motoring.

Succeeded to the Khanate: September 1933.

Married: In 1933, the daughter of Sardar Ali Jan, a

scion of Muhammadzai, the royal family of Afghanistan.

Heir-Apparent: Prince Muhammad Daud Khan, born 1940.

Salute: 19 guns (Hereditary).

His Highness belongs to the Ahmadzai family which came into power in 1666-67, when Mir Ahmad-I (after whom the family is named) took possession of Kalat after defeating the Moghul governor and consolidated practically the whole of Western and Southern Baluchistan into an organised state. The independence of Kalat was formally recognised by the British Government by the Treaty of 1876, when the Khan promised loyal co-operation with the Government.

Kalat is the third largest State in India and occupies an important strategic position. It extends from British Baluchistan on the north to the Arabian Sea in the south, and from Sind in the east to Iran in the west.

Area of the State: 73,278 sq. miles. *Population:* 342,101 (according to 1931 census).

His Highness takes a very keen interest in the moral and material welfare of his subjects and contributes a sum of Rs. 50,000 out of his privy purse for the advancement of education, which is now free in all stages, primary, middle, high, Theological and Industrial, throughout the State.

Kalat town, the Capital of the State, is 91 miles from Quetta and is 6,783 feet above sea level. The winter headquarters are at Dhadar, 16 miles from Sibi. Pasni, Jiwani, Sonmiani and Gwadar are sea-ports.

The administration of the State is divided into two sections: the *Wizarat* and the *Durbar*, the former is in charge of the Wazir-i-Azam and the latter entrusted to the Secretary, Durbar.

Wazir-i-Azam: MAJOR L. A. G. PINHEY, I.A.

Secretary, Durbar: MIR ABDUL AZIZ KHAN.

Private Secretary: MR. ABDUL RAUF KHAN, M.A., L.L.B. (Alig.).

True copy of an extract from The Indian Year Book and Who's Who (1943-44), published by the Times of India Press, Bombay.



*Coronation Photograph (1933) of the author as His Highness,
Baiglar Baigi Al-Haj Ahmad Yar Khan: the Khan of Kalat.*

Do you know what is more hard to bear than the reverses of fortune? It is the baseness, the hideous ingratitude, of man.

Napolean

Chapter 6

My Role as the Khan-e-Baluch-XIII

My early Life

I was born in Loralai in the Islamic calendar year of 1320 *Hijri*, i.e., 1902, while my grandfather, father and other family members were passing their dreary days, suffering their imprisonment by the British. I was hardly two-year old when we all were taken over to Pishin to remain there till the death of my grandfather, Mir Khudadad Khan, in May 1909, after which we were again confined at Shaikh Mandah for some more time.

I received my early education under private tutors; and in course of time gained a fair knowledge of the Holy Quran, and proficiency in Urdu, Persian and English languages.

However, to cut short, I started my adult career as a Personal Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan in 1920, and underwent military training for one year with the 27th Punjab Regiment. On completion of this training, I was entrusted with various important civil and military administrative assignments. For four

years I was with the Zhob Militia at Fort Sandeman, after which I was appointed as Adjutant and stationed at Chagai, where I had an area of more than 500 square-miles spreading over from Quetta to Zahidan under my command. The small force of Levies at Chagai numbered only 150 when I was posted there. The Levies functioned as ordinary Regulars. I raised their number to 600, and trained them on the level of the Zhob Militia.

I was also attached to Military Intelligence, charged with the task of checking the spread of Communist influences and keeping a vigilant eye on the Iran-Afghan borders. The British were very suspicious of the Russian 'Forward Policy' which was obviously aimed at influencing the Baluches living on the borders of Iran and Afghanistan through a subtle political propaganda, glorifying and advocating Communist doctrines.

During my tenure as Intelligence Officer, I sent two secret reports to the authorities. My first report in respect of the Baluches settled on Iran and Afghan borders was to this effect:

....These people, influenced by the Russian propaganda from across the border, were leaving their homes and moving over in small groups to Marv and Ashkhabad regions in Russia. These misled migrants, it was noticed, used to send suggestive messages to their relatives and friends in Baluchistan. They would coax their brethren in Baluchistan and inject into their minds the advantages of favouring the Russians who were striving to 'break the imperialistic bondage into which the British were dragging them'. These migrants would draw a very impressive picture of Russia, saying: "Russia is virtually a bliss, surplus in food to such a degree that we can burn the grains as a

fuel; and they impart free education to our children; and we have no housing problems, etc., etc." It was thus natural for the simple-minded folks to fall into the trap spread out through a forceful propaganda machinery of the Russians.

My sole purpose in writing and forwarding this report was to draw the urgent attention of the British Government towards the imperative necessity of economic development and social reforms in Baluchistan; for, at that time, it was a deliberate policy of the British Government to keep not only the Baluches in British-occupied area economically backward, but also in the Baluch settlements in Iran and Afghanistan as well. In whatever little economic and educational facilities the British allowed for their other subjects, they were deliberately discriminative in their treatment of Baluches in all spheres of life. Moreover, these migrations of Baluches to a Communist country were something I detested with abhorrence. I might mention here that not a single Baluch left his homeland during the period of my Khanship. But more about it later.

My second report concerned Amir Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan. I apprised the British Government that he, too, was receiving aid from Soviet Russia, and was gaining popularity with his people for his 'progressive' ideas and staunch advocacy of 'Pakhtoon nationalism'. I made it clear in my report that given more time, these pro-Russian leanings of the Afghan ruler would seriously undermine the British position in the Indian subcontinent, and that the infiltration of Communism into this area would jeopardize the prestige of British rule in India within a period of the next five years, i.e., 1935-40. I stated candidly that if things were not remedied in time, the Pakhtoons of the North-

West Frontier Province of India, the Baluches from Iran and Russian borders, and Baluchistan, would eventually align themselves with the Indian National Congress, and force the British rulers to quit India.

On receipt of these alarming reports, I was immediately summoned by the Agent to the Governor-General along with the Political Agent of Chagai and Kalat. During our full length discussion, I disclosed to them that the ultimate objective of Russia seemed to secure for itself a free access to the sea-coast of the Arabian Sea. The soundness of my assessment, based as it was on sound political insight and a deep understanding of foreign affairs, was highly appreciated by them; and my point of view was duly noted for future policy formulation.

By preparing and submitting these reports I was, of course, performing my official duty; but personally, I had the feeling of satisfaction that while doing so I was also rendering some service to the Baluches, as well as to Islam, at a time when the people of Baluchistan in general were favourably inclined towards the Russian 'Forward Policy'. Even my late father, Mir Mohammad Azam Jan, Khan-e-Baluch-XII, Nawab Meherullah Khan Marri, and the educated class of Baluch youths, inspired by nationalistic urges, were staunch advocates of this Russian policy in their time. But in fairness to them, it must be said that no immediate consequences were foreseen by these dignitaries, nor did their involvements in the pressing internal affairs of the State warrant such a foresight then.

Among the Pathans

I spent 25 years of my early life with the Pathans in north-western Baluchistan. During my assignment with the Zhob Militia, I came in close contact with many Pathan

tribes, such as Mahsood, Wazir, Afridi, Khalil, Mahmand, Khattak, Orakzai, Yusufzai, Kakar, Mandokhel and others. Life was indeed very hard and tiring there. We often had to cover great distances on foot, carrying heavy loads of arms and ammunition weighing about 75 pounds on our person. We had to climb Koh Sulaiman, the famous 13,300 feet high mountain, six or seven times.

My close association with the Pathans in these regions gave me a good opportunity of observing their ways, their sentiments, characteristic bravery, loyalty and true friendship. For this reason, I came to love them next only to my own people—the Baluches. Our relations with the Royal family of Afghanistan had been established as far back as the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali and Mir Nasir Khan Noori, the Khan-e-Baluch-VI (1749-1817).

These ties of friendship which commenced about a century ago between the two States had a religious sanctity attached to it, for Mir Nasir Khan Noori, the Khan-e-Baluch-VI, and Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Afghan King, had both sworn their mutual pledge of friendship at Kandahar by placing their hands on the Holy Quran with the sacred *Khirqah Sharif*—the sacred robes of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him). Eversince then, the Baluches stood steadfast to their word; and this also explains why Mir Mehrab Khan Shaheed (1831-39) the martyred Khan-e-Baluch-VIII—had a blind faith in Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, the exiled king of Afghanistan who, it will be recalled, in total disregard of the sacred oath pledged by his predecessor, Ahmed Shah Abdali, had played a traitor and brought about unwarranted bloodshed and destruction by selling himself to the British usurpers, thereby defiling the sacredness of the oath. The association of the Holy Prophet's sacred name

and robes with the promise of friendship, and the subsequent willful dishonouring of it, is something which no Muslim with a living conscience can view without questioning the morality of the class of rulers who can stoop to violate the sacredness of Islamic values for territorial gains.

The task before me

I now resume the account of my Khanship of Kalat as the Khan-e-Baluch-XIII.

As stated earlier in the foregoing pages, I ascended to the throne on the 20th of September in 1933. I was then a young man of 31 years of age; and had by now a fairly sound background of experience in civil as well as military spheres. Nevertheless, I must confess that I was rather nervous and completely overwhelmed by my awakening consciousness of the heavy responsibilities and the stupendous task of a ruler of a State that lay before me. I was now a Ruler. Whoever coined the adage: "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown", must indeed have been a King himself, or must have imagined himself as one. And rightly, too!

Added to this uneasiness was the tragic nature of the death of my father, the memory of which was still fresh in my mind. He was not only the most loving father a son could ever have, but was also a true guide and a friend to his children. He was a deeply religious Muslim, and personally saw to it that we said our prayers regularly five times a day, as ordained by Allah and His Messenger. We used to say our evening prayers along with the general congregation in the mosque, and he would himself lead the prayers if the *Pesh Imam* (minister who leads the prayers) happened to be absent. And now that he had departed, I was left alone without my ideal friend and guide who had made me what I am.



H.H. Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, The Khan of Kalat with Sir Norman Cater, A.G.G., Baluchistan, and other officials on the occasion of his Coronation in 1933.



The author with Sultan Abdul Aziz bin Saud of Arabia at a banquet in his honour during his visit to Mecca for Haj in 1936.

It was in this mixed state of sorrow, hope, inspiration, apprehensions and determination that I took an objective cognizance of the prevailing situation confronting my people and the State.

I was acutely conscious and disturbed right from the beginning of my adult life about the socio-economic backwardness of my people, whose progress and happiness had continued to remain static even in this modern age, despite all-round advancement and prosperity elsewhere. What grieved me most in this respect was the fact that despite all the requisite human qualities of head and heart which my people possessed in full measure; and despite the fact that our land had a vast wealth of natural resources, the people were still unable to find their due place on level with others in the world at large. What was still more appalling was that the Baluches, who numbered no less than 20 millions spread over in different Asian countries, were still unknown to each other, and even among themselves. Social contacts and mutual inter-relationing were conspicuous by their absence.

The one basic reason for this sorry picture, I reckoned, was not far to seek. Briefly stated, the history of Baluches as an ethnological group is essentially a history of a long and ceaseless chain of tribal conflicts, clan feuds, mutual jealousies and rivalries—factors which have all along been leading them to the primitive practice of one group of tribes endeavouring to subdue the other, and none succeeding totally. It was thus natural under the circumstances that they remained where they were in all spheres of life.

With this mental diagnosis, and fully realizing the nature of the stupendous task before me, I assumed the Khanship of Kalat, and set for myself a resolute mission of

bettering the plight of the Baluch, and raising them from the mire of ignorance to a respectable rung on the social ladder. The British weapon of 'divide and rule' was no doubt still there, as sharp and menacing as ever; but I had religiously resolved to proceed with my plans; and nothing was going to keep me back.

Thus, one of the first things I did soon after my assuming the Khanship was to formulate, mentally of course, a plan of socio-political and religious reforms, some of which stood as under:

- (i) Replacing gradually and amicably the ancient and antiquated way of life with modern outlook;
- (ii) Making the British Government understand our view points, and securing their cooperation in this programme;
- (iii) Purging out the British-influenced elements in the ranks of Baluch tribal Chiefs, and aligning them faithfully with the policies of the administration;
- (iv) Securing the cooperation of the younger educated generation engaged in politics, and prevail upon them to participate in the reform programmes sponsored by Kalat Government, forging unity of thought and action among the tribal Sardars and the younger set with progressive ideas;
- (v) Introducing necessary religious reforms on the guidelines set by the acknowledged *Ulemas* (religious scholars) of Deoband (a recognized Islamic centre of learning in India); and
- (vi) Unifying the attitudes of the enlightened class of anti-British, and Congress-minded *Ulema* and the

conservatives, thus bringing them round to participate in my plans of reconstruction which the Government of Kalat would embark upon.

My ultimate aim in pursuing these plans was, no doubt, to introduce a democratic system of governance in the State with a Parliament, to which tribal representatives could be elected in order to function collectively for the common good of the people and the State in a spirit of mutual brotherhood and cooperation.

This programme of social integration and reform naturally warranted untiring efforts and a good deal of patience, for the prevailing disgusting state of Baluch society was a product of the debased British diplomacy since 1839, and more so the exploitation of tribal Chiefs and the so-called Jirgas since 1876. Their universally notorious British policy of divide-and-rule had succeeded in creating a gulf of mutual animosity and hatred among the various tribes of Baluchistan. As a result, the whole complex of the tribal organization stood disfigured and splintered. Politically, the Sardars and their respective tribes and clans were divided into numerous rival groups; and morally, they had become so degenerated that they could be, and were, treated like the lifeless pieces of chess-men on the chess-board. The original tribal set-up had virtually crumbled; and the masses had become so miserable that most of them had left their homes to seek refuge against the highhandedness of petty officers who had little regard for human decencies.

With this historical and factual context in mind, I undertook an extensive tour of my State in 1934, during which I made personal contacts with the tribal Chiefs of different regions. I brought home to their minds that they

were no longer under any foreign rule. In 1939, again, I toured through my State four times to take cognizance of the condition of the people, explaining, persuading, and emphasizing the need to get together and shape their destiny, as befits their glorious identity as the sons and daughters of the land of which their forefathers were rightly proud.

These frequent and patient contacts and discourses had the desired effect; and the spell of British lordship which had numbed the minds of the people, now gave way to a renewed feeling of self-reliance coupled with a fresh spirit of freedom and hope of a bright future. It had required untiring and hard work and a generous measure of patience and concentration on my part to achieve this initial success, but the effort was worth the result. God in His benevolent mercy had at last crowned my humble efforts with success.

The entire Baluch community, including the nationalist extremists, the conservatives and the progressives, alike, joined hands together in the task of social reconstruction, irrespective of their party affiliations.

I must record here my appreciation of the courage, confidence and cooperation proffered by the tribal Sardars whom I contacted for their support to me in the task of liberating the State from the octopus-like clutches of foreign intruders.

Nevertheless, I was also conscious of a lurking feeling in my mind that the British might develop their own suspicions as a result of my growing popularity among the Baluches in general. This also I managed to remove tactfully to their full satisfaction in due course.

With this achieved, the British Government loosened their hold of Baluch Sardars, and handed over the ad-

ministration of tribal affairs to the State Government of Kalat. This happened as the result of a Memorandum dated 25th January, 1935, submitted to me on behalf of the State Council and tribal Sardars of Kalat, expressing on oath their full faith, confidence and loyalty to me through thick and thin, just as they had pledged to my ancestors in the past.

My hands were now substantially strengthened, and I embarked hopefully on my plans of social uplift. But there still remained a hindering opposition and negative attitude on the part of the Agent to the Governor-General, and the Political Agent (also the Prime Minister of Kalat), with both of whom I had yet to square up matters. I had already apprised the Viceroy of their malafides, but with no immediate results.

Another major set-back was the historic earthquake of Quetta in 1935, which literally demolished the town and its precincts with a severity and wholesale devastation which remains unprecedented in the seismographic records of the Indian subcontinent. The historical Fort of Kalat with its 1,000 chambers was razed to the ground like a house of cards. The loss of property which the people and the Government of Kalat suffered for long was immense, while the loss of human life was indeed beyond calculation in physical terms.

Say not the struggle naught avaieth,
The labour and the wounds are vain . . .

A. H. Clough

Chapter 7

My Struggles

AS stated in the preceding chapter, the socio-political complex of Baluchistan was in a disgraceful shape when I ascended to my ancestral throne in Kalat in 1933. The British Government had totally ignored their promises and the treaties which were signed in mutual agreement between them and the Government of Kalat.

The Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan was now the administrative head of Kalat. The Khan-e-Baluch functioned merely as a figurehead with no powers at all. He was, as it were, a mechanical contraption which could function as an instrument by putting his signature on the dotted line on orders issued by the Political Agent, who also functioned as the Prime Minister. To sum up, this is how the administrative structure stood at that time:

- (a) The Agent to the Governor-General held the supreme position in the State with Political Agents in all the districts of Baluchistan, while the Political Agent in Kalat district functioned as the Prime Minister as well.

- (b) Leasbela, Kharan, Makran, etc., were administered by respective Political Agents.
- (c) The Khan-e-Kalat was the Head of the State merely on paper. For all practical purposes, authority was vested with the Political Agents who functioned under the direct orders of the Agent to the Governor-General.
- (d) Nasirabad, Chagai, and the tribal regions of Marri and Bugti areas had each a separate Political Agent. Dera Ghazi Khan was absorbed in the Punjab, and Jacobabad (originally Khangarh) was given over to Sind. Also, a substantial tract of the borderland of Baluchistan was passed on to Iran. This region is now still marked as 'Iranian Baluchistan' on all geographical maps.
- (e) The Baluches were deliberately debarred from key-posts in the Government of Kalat, while non-Baluches and persons adept in the art of flattery occupied high positions.
- (f) In the sphere of education, the masses were criminally ignored. The Budget allocation for this primary need was a mere Rs. 13,000.
- (g) On the judicial plane, a ludicrous innovation called 'Jirga System' was introduced, supplanting the Islamic system of dispensing justice based on *Shariat* (Islamic laws) and sound Baluch traditions. What was all the more ridiculous was that all the members of this 'Jirga System' were nominated by the Political Agents in their respective regions. Appeals, if any, against Jirga decisions were directed to be lodged with the Agent to

the Governor-General in India, who would issue final orders in the name of the Khan-e-Baluch. Thousands of innocent persons were harassed and put into jails without any trial. Justice was thus openly denied to the people.

This then is a nut-shell account of the administrative set-up that prevailed when I embarked on my programme of socio-political reformation and democratization after having laboured unceasingly to secure the loyalty and cooperation of the Sardars and the people, as described in the preceding chapter. It indeed gives me a fair amount of gratification to say that the tribal Sardars, notwithstanding years of despotism, extended their full cooperation over me in my schemes of reform. This was obviously because they entertained no misgivings about my honest intentions and sincerity of purpose, particularly when they saw that I was myself the first to denounce the autocratic authority, pomp and extravagant regal show that had hitherto come to be associated with the head of the State.

The time was now ripe for me to go ahead with the reformatory measures I had in mind.

Accordingly, I embarked on the process. I made the Prime Minister responsible to the Legislature now, with a Cabinet comprising of selected as well as a few nominated members, each with a separate portfolio. Besides the Cabinet, I constituted a State Council with 12 members, 6 being the people's representatives, and the other 6 drawn from the Cabinet.

A separate department was established to deal with matters of religion under the charge of a competent Minister.

Qazis (Judges) were appointed in every Tehsil; and a panel of *Ulemas* (authorities on Islamic laws) was set up to advise the Judges. *Shariat* laws (Islamic Codes), which had previously been abandoned, were duly re-introduced on the lines in vogue during the Khanship of Mir Nasir Khan Noori. A Penal Code was prepared and introduced, by which justice was assured for everyone without any distinctions of caste, creed, colour, race or status.

The evil practice of *Begaar* system (*i.e.*, forced labour without due remuneration) was totally banned; and severe punishment was prescribed for violations of this ban. Revenue taxes, which the tribal Sardars and influential men in the State used to collect hitherto from the farmers, labourers and the common people, were also discontinued. Ere this, the labourers had to pay out a sort of 'professional tax' on their earnings. This improper practice was also banned. Preference in employments was given to the Baluches, as far as justifiably possible, thus replacing the non-Baluch personnel in the State Services.

As stated earlier, the sphere of education had been grossly neglected with a ridiculously low Budget allocation of Rs. 13,000 only. I got it raised to Rs. 400,000 annually. Promising Baluch students were given adequate scholarships enabling them to pursue their studies in India and other foreign universities.

A large number of schools were opened throughout the State in order to root out illiteracy that prevailed appallingly among the masses. There was an acute dearth of printing presses in Kalat State. Therefore, a litho printing press was also established.

As could be expected, all these reforms succeeded in breaking the monotony and lull in the life of all the classes

of population. This socio-political awakening in Kalat heralded a new era of world recognition, which continues to this day. Reputed philosophers, scientists, linguists, historians, poets, literary men, politicians and religious dignitaries now started visiting Kalat. This international focus of attention naturally benefited my people, whose mental horizon and approach to life was appreciably re-oriented through discourses with these enlightened personalities.

Economically, too, Kalat State was awfully backward, as I said earlier. Unless the economic fibre of any given society is reasonably sound, it is futile to attempt any social transformation. 'A hungry man is an angry man' is true of all societies in all parts of human habitation. 'An empty stomach seldom digests a good political advice', Plato once said; and it is as true today as it was in his times. The problem of suitable employment in Kalat warranted urgent attention for more than one reason. Political reasons apart, even on purely human considerations, this matter demanded immediate action.

Accordingly, I started with the establishment of an Ordnance factory which, while providing gainful employment to the people, also served as an independent means of producing military wares needed by the State army. Services of some 50 technical experts in the manufacture of small arms and ammunition were secured from the Frontier regions. In order to break the monopoly in this trade, which some persons had been holding to themselves, official centres of military stores were established.

Small-scale industries such as spinning and cloth-weaving, carpet-making and leather-tanning were opened at various places.

Agriculture, too, received its due attention. Numerous farms were set up under the supervision of experts in the field; and Baluch students were awarded generous stipends to specialize in this vocational sphere. Besides other natural bounties, Kalat is rich in fruits, both in quality as well as in variety. This called for a systematic streamlining of horticultural production on sound commercial lines. Accordingly, an extensive chain of fruit-gardens was established under the direct management of the State Government. This naturally created a healthy competition among the enterprisers in the private sector; and as a result, this industry started bustling with keen enthusiasm in productive as well as commercial activities.

The British Government had signed an 18-year lease contract (1918 to 1936) with the Burmah Oil Company for exploiting the petrol producing areas in Baluchistan in return for a paltry payment of Rs. 2,000 per annum. I annulled this contract in 1937 after its expiry by not according any fresh renewals. Instead, I asked for fresh tenders. This, however, could not be materialized, as the international situation was fast heading towards an explosion, which finally did come in September, 1939, in the shape of the Second World War.

However, after the cessation of hostilities in 1945, negotiations were once again resumed in this connection; and Burmah Oil Company again secured the contract for oil; this time on reasonably better terms. But subsequently, this contract was cancelled by the Government of Pakistan for reasons best known to them only.

I have dealt with the subject of oil in some detail in Chapter 1, along with other minerals; and I repeat here

again that Baluchistan abounds in mineral wealth. Yet, nothing concrete had been done in the exploitation of this vital item thus far. It, therefore, fell upon me to make an initial move in this matter. I requisitioned the services of Dr. Mukerjee from Calcutta, and established a Mineral Research Department under him, and placed a team of Baluch students of science at his disposal to help him in his research work. This team, under this expert mineralogist, toured the land extensively and collected various specimens which were sent out to Calcutta for laboratory tests and chemical analysis.

It may sound as self-praise to say that all these reforms and changes were the outcome of my sustained efforts; but the fact remains that I had to labour hard and undeterred in my struggles at bettering the miserable conditions which were retarding the progress of the land and its people who lay steeped in the mire of illiteracy and pangs of poverty. Rather than say anything more about it, I would quote verbatim here the official endorsement of the State Council which speaks for itself:

"His Highness Mir Ahmed Yar Khan has been working hard and guiding the people. He is a statesman who has steered clear the ship of Baluchistan from troubled waters. The reforms introduced by him in the fields of education, trade, industry, and social and religious activities have been so successful that not only the Baluches of Baluchistan but also the Baluches, whether they live in Sind, Iran or Afghanistan, are proud of him.

"In expression of our gratitude, the title of 'Khan-e-Moazzam' is conferred upon him."

This title since then has been used in all official documents.

By and large, I was fairly successful in controlling effectively the affairs of the State by 1936.

Satisfied at what humble contribution I could so far make towards shaping a healthy growth of the State, I proceeded on my pilgrimage to Mecca to perform the Haj. After this solemn obligation, I went over to Iraq, where in Baghdad I paid my humble homage at the sacred shrine of Ghous-ul-Azam Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (may Allah be pleased with him)—the venerable saint devoutly revered by my ancestors, and indeed, by all Muslims. I then crossed over to Jerusalem in Palestine to pay a visit to the sacred graves of Prophets Abraham, Moses and others. On my way back home, I stayed for sometime in Egypt also.

On return from these sacred places, I found myself all the more determined to face the obstacles which the British had been creating in my way. It was with this resolute aim that I availed the services of one of the most capable and prominent barristers of the Indian subcontinent—Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah—as the Legal Adviser to Kalat State.

This was how I came into contact with Mr. Jinnah in 1936.

Enter the Quaid-e-Azam

This eminent barrister, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who subsequently became 'Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah' in 1940, was not only a first-rate legal practitioner but was also the President of the All-India Muslim League. A shrewd legal man and a mature politician that

he was, Mr. Jinnah knew very well the inner workings of the mind of British statesmen. Above all, he had that rare virtue of frankness of speech and thought; and he cared little about the person or persons he would talk about, as long as what he was speaking was true. And more often than not, his assessments had a biting humour in his expression of them. For instance, when in 1943, Beverley Nichols—the renowned British journalist and author of *Verdict on India*—in an interview asked the Quaid:

“How would you describe the vital principles of the demand for Pakistan?”

“In five words: ‘The Muslims are a Nation’,” replied the Quaid promptly, adding: “The one thing that keeps the British in India is the false idea of a United India as preached by Gandhi. A United India, I repeat, is a British creation—a myth . . . which will cause endless strife. As long as that strife exists, the British will have an excuse for remaining. For once in a way ‘divide and rule’ does not apply!”

“That means you want the British to ‘divide and quit’,” observed Nichols caustically.

But Quaid-e-Azam could be more caustic; and he replied: “You have put it very neatly!”

// However, to come back to our subject, as stated above, I contacted Mr. Jinnah and availed of his expert advice on the following points affecting the political set-up in Kalat State vis-a-vis the British Government:

- (i) That the British must honour all their commitments; and that the Treaty of 1876 (see Appendix V), in particular, must be fully honoured.

- (ii) That all tribal territories, excepting Quetta, be placed under my possession, so that I may proceed with my reforms on the lines of the Indian States like Hyderabad (Deccan), Mysore and Baroda.
- (iii) That I may be allowed to set up an Assembly nomenclatured as 'Diwan-e-Khas' (House of Lords), comprising of tribal Sardars in place of the old 'Baluch Confederation'.
- (iv) That another Assembly, nomenclatured as 'Diwan-e-Aam' (House of Commons) comprising of representatives of the general Baluch community, may be formed.
- (v) That the members of the State Cabinet should be selected from among the members of Diwan-e-Aam and Diwan-e-Khas, with the leader of the Cabinet functioning as the Prime Minister of the State.
- (vi) That these Assemblies should be gradually enabled to assert their functional rights and discharge their responsibility as full-fledged Houses of Parliament within a stipulated period of 5 years.
- (vii) That the ruler of the State should be the constitutional Head of the State.

QUAID-E-AZAM'S IMPRESSIONS

It should be obvious from the above that my one purpose in formulating these administrative and constitutional schemes was to create political consciousness among the people of Baluchistan, and make them feel that they were the active participants in the manning and

progress of their land; and that with the assets nature had so bountifully bestowed upon them, they could successfully fight their illiteracy and economic backwardness and get in line with their more advanced neighbours.

Consequently, having chosen Mr. Jinnah to advise me on constitutional matters and the impediments which the British were creating in my way, I had an open-hearted talk with him on the subject. I gave him a full picture of the historical background of the region; its ethnological aspects; its evolution through the ages; its past rulers; its present prospects and potentials; and how I had to a certain extent succeeded in preparing a reasonably sound set-up for future development aiming at the betterment of the people and the State.

"Whenever", I told Mr. Jinnah, "I come forward with my schemes and plannings for the betterment of my people and development of the State, the British do not like the idea, and put hinderances in my way."

"Your Highness", said Mr. Jinnah, "The British have exactly the same attitude towards the Indian Muslims, too. What I am doing for the uplift of Indian Muslims, you are doing here for your community. I am glad to find your thoughts far ahead, and much more progressive than those of the other rulers of the Indian States totalling 750. You are the only ruler who is so fond of his people, trying to bring in democracy in the State and make yourself responsible before the parliamentary government of your own creation; whereas the other rulers oppose, tooth and nail, all progressive and modern reforms that go against their princely-interests."

"Mr. Jinnah", I put in, "I regard myself only as a servant of my people. There is an ideal Arabic adage which says: 'The Chiefs of a people are in fact their servants'. Actually, there is a basic difference between me and other State rulers inasmuch as my ancestors had neither any idea nor any intention of despotic rule. They were religious-minded Chiefs and as such, they were true servants of their people. I fervently hope through my humble efforts to see my people become more and more politically conscious and attain proper participation with me in the management of the State affairs."

Mr. Jinnah, who had by now become the 'Quaid-e-Azam' of Muslim India, was noticeably impressed with the truth of what I was saying. He was now on a pedestal from where he was in the process of carving out a meaningful future for Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. As such, I now recall with a certain amount of marvel the significant words he had uttered then.

"Your Highness", said he, "I have fully understood your views; and I am convinced that you are struggling hard for peace and prosperity of your people. As such, my services as a Legal Adviser will always be available to you without any remuneration, whatsoever. As a matter of fact, since I am myself fighting for the freedom of the Indian Muslims, I am duty-bound to help you in your noble cause as a friend and a brother. I must, however, tell you that a time will come when you will see that all the Muslim countries will be united into a Federation; and Baluchistan, on account of its geographical position, will play a leading part in bringing about this unity. I being an old man will not be able to witness that; but God willing, you will see this materialized. . . . As for the political side of your case, what you require is a strong political organization to create an awakening among the

people; and this should enable you to steer your way through the Assembly." — (*Italics mine.*)

Having said these pregnant words, the Quaid-e-Azam then advised me in his own measured tones to proceed cautiously in the matter of associating personally with any political party openly in Baluchistan. He explained to me that the matter was all the more delicate in view of the Agreements and Treaties of military and political nature which existed between me as the State ruler, and the British, who he reckoned, would invariably create difficulties in my way. He, however, said that I could indirectly give a helping hand to the All-India Muslim League branch in Baluchistan.

I assured the Quaid-e-Azam that I would cooperate with him as best as I could in his mission of carving out a homeland for the Muslims; and this, I told him, I would do openly; for I did not—nor do I now—believe in any scruples to come in way of my friendship. This emphatic assurance from me on behalf of my people gave him great satisfaction.

Accordingly, I commenced my efforts to popularize the Muslim League and its programme of Muslim emancipation in every nook and corner of the province of Baluchistan. I explained to the Baluch the importance and significance of Pakistan movement, and encouraged them to join the Muslim League. As a result, Baluch Pathans and others settled in Baluchistan, rose as one man in response to my call for unity for the sake of Islamic brotherhood and its future.

All possible assistance by way of money and material was generously provided to finance and organize conferences, public meetings and processions by the Baluchistan Muslim League in Kalat. Scores of trucks and cars were also placed at the disposal of the party organizers for the exclusive use of

delegates and guests from various parts of India; and at times, these delegates had to be helped even monetarily as well. And all this was done as a matter of zealous patriotic sense of duty rather than for any other consideration. In addition, cash donations in sealed covers containing sizeable amounts used to be sent to the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League to augment its funds.

The British, as could be expected, grew suspicious about the purpose of my activities in this connection, particularly so because they realized, as they always did, that Baluchistan held a very strategic position on the map from the defence point of view. The fast-gaining political hustle-bustle in Baluchistan spelt a danger-signal to their ambitious lordship over the Indian subcontinent. They, therefore, tried to bully me in the true fashion of the proverbial John Bull. They started reminding me of previous agreements by which I was bound not to take any part in any movement or indulge in any activities which could jeopardize their interests in the Subcontinent.

These protests, remonstrations and concealed threats, however, did not deter me one way or the other. I ignored them, and continued with the personal assistance I was giving to the Muslims of India morally as well as monetarily in their heroic struggle for freedom from the alien yoke.

During these days, I played host to the Quaid-i-Azam several times at Quetta, Mastung and Kalat. The Quaid and his ever-loving sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, used to be duly accorded a Royal reception each time they came, and an equally hearty send-off when they left; and great care was taken to provide them with the best of amenities at our disposal during their stay with us.

The Quaid-e-Azam had by now come to be loved and respected so much that the people weighed him in pure gold publicly on the scale; and the balancing quantity of solid gold was handed over to him as the contribution of the Baluch towards the efforts of the All-India Muslim League. In addition to this, I had the personal satisfaction of presenting a necklace to Miss Fatima Jinnah, the sentimental value of which, needless to say, exceeded by far the paltry amount of Rs. 1,00,000 which it really cost. The Quaid and his sister were both surprised at this; but this was only a humble token of our deep love and Baluch tradition.

Soon after this, came the sad incident of a murderous attack on the Quaid-e-Azam on 26th July, 1943, in Bombay. The culprit, as it came to be known later, was one Rafiq Sabir—a fanatic *Khaksar*—who, on the tutored notion that 'Jinnah was a tool in the hands of British Imperialism' (for that was how he pleaded guilty before the British Judge who sentenced him to 5 years R.I.), walked up the Malabar Hill; and forcing his way into the study inside his bungalow, assaulted the Quaid while he sat engrossed over his papers on the table soon after his lunch at 1.15 P.M. Providence, however, saved his life, which was more precious to Muslim India than to himself. By the time the attendants rushed in, which they did almost instantaneously, the Quaid's struggle in self-defence had blunted the force of knife-blows; and he was extricated safely from the clutches of the misguided assassin with some minor cuts on his hands, and a deeper wound on his chin.

The news of this murderous attempt was splashed over as the headline in all the newspapers, at home and abroad. I was shocked and pained; but the fact that the Quaid was

safe and sound greatly relieved the agitated feelings in my mind and heart. Apprehensive of such repetitions—for the political atmosphere at this time was highly charged with violent possibilities—I sent out my own personal Body Guard to Bombay for the Quaid's personal protection. This man remained with him faithfully as his Body Guard right upto 7th August, 1947.

It may also be mentioned here that whenever he visited Baluchistan before the Partition, the Quaid-e-Azam was always greeted with the booming of 21 guns, just as the Viceroy of India used to be greeted; but after the establishment of Pakistan, these boomings became all the more exultant, for now they were blended with the ecstatic pulsations of the hearts of the multitudes of Baluches who came out to say "welcome home" to their honourable guest and beloved friend.

Nothing is politically right which is morally wrong.

David O'Connell

Chapter 8

The Declaration of Independence

THE World War-II was at its apex in 1943. The Nazi German army was retreating in the Caucasus; the siege of Leningrad was raised; Tripoli was occupied by the British army; the remnants of Hitler's army outside Stalingrad had surrendered; the Allies had landed in Sicily, and Mussolini had resigned.

In India, the political situation was fast becoming critical. The two majority communities—Hindus and Muslims—were now *two different nations*, each with divergent goals marked out as their destination. The famous Jinnah-Gandhi Talks in the background of communal blood-baths and growing violence and tension throughout India had failed; and most of the Hindu leaders were in jails in Ahmednagar and other places in India.

The onset of 1944, saw Field Marshal Wavell as the Viceroy of India in place of Lord Linlithgow (whom he had replaced in the last quarter of the previous year). Realizing the ugliness of the situation following the failure of Jinnah-Gandhi talks, Lord Wavell convened a conference

of the Governors in August 1944. This was at the time when the Allies' victory was not very far off. Lord Wavell now saw that all emergency laws, under which the Indian unrest was being put down by an iron hand, would cease to be operative with the end of the war which was now clearly in sight. The Governors were unanimous in recommending that His Majesty's Government should itself take the initiative to resolve the deadlock following the failure of the Muslim League and the Congress to arrive at some workable agreement; but the year 1944 passed by without bringing the situation to any conclusive stage. On the contrary, the political atmosphere raged progressively towards more and more violence and growing instability.

Then started a series of talks in 1945 between political leaders and the Viceroy, but, again, with no results. The famous Simla Conference also failed. Lord Wavell now found himself sitting on a volcano that was about to explode. The war had ended in the victory of the Allies with the surrender of German army on the mid-might of 7th May; but the ghost of another catastrophe was still stalking around the Indian subcontinent. Desperate now, he flew off to London for apprising His Majesty's Government of the zero-hour that was fast approaching in India. He came back with certain British proposals on constitutional reforms devised to lead eventually to full Self-Government for India. These proposals, however, were by no means a solution to the problem, for they failed to meet the demands of the All-India Muslim League which was wedded to the ideology of a separate homeland for Muslims.

The summer of 1945 in England saw the Labour Party elected to power after the elections; and Clement Atlee now headed His Majesty's Government. After a series of

debates and consultations in which Sir Stafford Cripps (who had by now a good background of Indian affairs) figured prominently, it was decided to send a 3-member Cabinet Mission to India in a hectic bid to devise a scheme for the transfer of power in India. Accordingly, a Mission comprising of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Mr. A. V. Alexander and Sir Stafford Cripps, arrived in India on 24th March 1946.

I had been closely following the political developments in India; for, the matter of Indian States was also linked up with the ultimate outcome of the fight for independence. Kalat was not an Indian State, as acknowledged by the British Government; but all the same, its future was also to be decided upon. Thus, some time ahead of the Mission's schedule for meeting the rulers of Indian States, I consulted the Quaid-e-Azam on the legal aspects of the issues that would now arise in respect of my State.

The Quaid-e-Azam, needless to say, knew how to arrange matters diplomatically. He said that he would host a tea party in my honour, and invite the members of the Cabinet Mission and other political leaders to it.

Accordingly, a party was arranged at the Quaid's residence. Never before had the Quaid thrown such a grand party. Some 500 dignitaries attended the reception, including the Cabinet Mission members. As intended, I took this opportunity to explain my case fully to the members, giving an elaborate historical background of my State. They all gave an attentive ear to me; and it was decided that I should have my case prepared fully by legal experts, and that the Quaid-e-Azam, being the Adviser to the State, would present the same officially to the British Government.

Following this decision, the case as it stood with regard to Kalat and its claims was prepared by such eminent lawyers as I. J. Chundrigar, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sardar B. K. Memon and Sir Walter Monckton. This was then handed over to the Quaid-e-Azam who made certain necessary amendments in it before forwarding it in the form of a Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission through the Viceroy of India.

This Memorandum, briefly stated here, re-stressed the following major points:

- (a) That Kalat is an independent and sovereign State, its relation with the British Government being based on various mutual Agreements and Treaties.
- (b) That Kalat is *not an Indian State*, its relations with India being of only a formal nature by virtue of Kalat's agreements with the British; that with the ceasing of the Agreement of 1876 with the Kalat Government, Kalat would regain its complete independence, as it existed prior to 1876; and that the Kalat Government would then be free to choose its own way without any interference by others.

In respect of those regions of Kalat which were currently in the possession of the British, the considered opinion of the legal experts was:

- (i) All such regions as were given under the control of the British in consequence of any treaty will return to the sovereignty of Kalat State, and resume their original status as parts of the Kalat State.

- (ii) The right to rule over these parts is vested only with the British Government which is in direct control of these areas presently.
- (iii) On the lapse of British sovereignty, the agreements in respect of the parts under their control shall cease to have any legal binding; and the rights hitherto vested in the British shall automatically be transferred back to the Kalat Government.
- (iv) Other Baluch regions like Kharan, Lasbela, and the Marri and Bugti areas were part and parcel of the Kalat State as acknowledged by the British; and must, therefore, go back to it when the latter vacate.

In the meantime, the Tamindars of Marri and Bugti areas sent out a Memorandum to the British Government in 1946, demanding that their tribal regions be included in a 'federation' with Kalat. This application is reproduced verbatim as under:

We, the Tamindars of the tribal areas of Marri and Bugti, feel that due consideration was not given to our regions in the constitution of India. We wish to present our views in favour of our tribal system to the British as well as the political leaders of India. We earnestly desire that our tribal region which is beyond the limits of British India, may under a grouping system, be separated from the areas of the Punjab, and be linked with the Kalat State, in a federation. Our independence should be intact.

INSIDE BALUCHISTAN

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We also unanimously nominate Nawab Sir Mohammad Jamal Khan Leghari and the Prime Minister of Kalat as our representatives in all the meetings and conferences and assemblies called in connection with the Indian constitution, especially referring to the constitution meant for the tribal areas.

Sd/-

Sardar Bahadur Duda Khan
Sardar Tamindar, Marri

Dated 27th Nov. 1946.

Signed: 1. Nawab Zada Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan.

2. Sardar Sir Mohammad Jamal Khan Leghari.

Skiping over the events that followed the Cabinet Mission Plan and the subsequent 'Interim Government', and the violence that let itself into inhuman frenzy in Bihar, Noakhali, Lahore, Bombay, and in almost every town and city in India, I now come to the phase of Indian history on the threshold of Partition, the necessity of which the British ultimately realized after years of stubborn reluctance, during which millions of human lives were lost; thousands of women widowed; thousands of girls raped; hundreds of thousand children orphaned. Arson, loot and murder became the order of the day.

This was the state of India when Lord Mountbatten, who was destined to be the last of the Viceroys of India, flew over to Delhi on 22nd March, 1947, to wind up British supremacy in this part of their dominions wherein hitherto the "sun never set".

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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It is not within the scope of this book to retrace or comment upon the dubious role Mountbatten—the cousin of His Majesty the King Emperor George VI—played in manoeuvring a mutilated division of India into Bharat and Pakistan as they appear on the map today.

However, this is what the Partition Plan of June 3 stated in respect of transfer of power in India *vis-a-vis* the States:

"... All the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one side, and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor-Government or Governments in British India; or failling this, entering into particular political arrangements."

The next day at a press conference, Mountbatten stated that the Indian States had been "Independent States in treaty relations with the British"; and that with the lapse of paramountcy, they would assume an independent status and were "absolutely free to choose to join one Constituent Assembly or the other, or make some other arrangement".

The Quaid-e-Azam hailed this statement but Mr. Gandhi said that declarations of independence by Indian Princes "were tantamount to declaration of war against the free millions of India". The element of violence almost always lurked subconsciously in Mr. Gandhi's mind, notwithstanding his public image as the mystagogue of *Ahimsa* (non-violence). That he himself died a violent death at the hands of one of his

own co-religionists is an indication of the futility of using a mystic doctrine as a political weapon.

QUAID-E-AZAM'S DECLARATION

On the other hand, in a statement to the press which the Quaid-e-Azam subsequently issued on June 18, he said:

"... The Indian States will be fully independent, legally and constitutionally, as soon as the supremacy of the British ceases; and as such, the States will be free to act as per their wish whether to join the Indian Legislature or the Pakistan Legislative Assembly. In case of their decision to join either of the two, they can adjust their relations and arrangements anew as per their wish in the new set-up.

"... The All-India Muslim League's policy has been quite unambiguous from the very beginning that we would not interfere in the internal affairs of any State; and such problems must primarily be discussed and solved between the rulers and the people of the State concerned. If any State wishes to consult us in the matter, we offer our services readily. In case a State desiring to retain its independence by co-operating with Pakistan in trade and economic affairs, only we welcome to have political talks on the same to arrive at any solution agreed upon for mutual good.

"... I am of firm opinion that the Memorandum of the Cabinet Mission of 12th May, 1946, clearly lays down the policy of His Majesty's Government in respect of the position of the Indian States. It nowhere makes it obligatory upon them to merge themselves with any Legislative Assembly, be it Indian or Pakistani.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

"It is my personal belief that if any State wants to remain aloof, it may do so without any pressure from any quarter, whether it be the British Parliament or any political organization in the country.

"The British Government have clearly informed them (the States) that sovereignty is untransferable. It can be brought to an end, thus making the States attain their independence automatically."

The Quaid-e-Azam wrote a letter to me stating that the position of Kalat being different from the rest of the Indian States, I should send my representative to the Viceroy in Delhi to discuss about the future position of Kalat and the return of its Baluch regions hitherto under the control of the British Government. Accordingly, I sent my Chief Secretary with a draft on the new position of Kalat as prepared by experts.

Round Table Conference

As a result of my Chief Secretary's talks with the nominees of the Viceroy, a Round Table Conference was held on 4th August 1947, in which Lord Mountbatten, the Quaid-e-Azam, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Chief Minister of Kalat, Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Legal Adviser of Kalat State, and myself took part. The following points were agreed upon:

1. Kalat State will be independent on 5th August, 1947, enjoying the same status as it originally held in 1838, having friendly relations with its neighbours.
2. In case the relations of Kalat with any future government got strained, Kalat will exercise its

right of self-determination, and the British Government should take precautionary measures to help Kalat in the matter as per the treaties of 1839 and 1841.

3. The Khan of Kalat, mentioning his services and those of the Baluches in the creation of Pakistan, expressed his full confidence in Quaid-e-Azam and the 'Government of Pakistan' to be established under his leadership.

As a corollary to the Round Table Conference at Delhi, another agreement between Kalat and Pakistan was signed on 4th August, 1947. The points agreed upon were broadcast on 11th August, 1947, as under:

1. The Government of Pakistan agrees that Kalat is an Independent State, being quite different in status from other States of India; and commits to its relations with the British Government as manifested in several agreements.
2. Legal opinion will be obtained to find out whether Pakistan Government is legally bound by the agreements and the treaties that already exist between Kalat and the British Government.
3. Further talks will be held between the nominees of Pakistan and the Khan-e-Azam of Kalat after obtaining the legal opinion on the above points.
4. In the meantime, a Standstill Agreement will be made between Pakistan and Kalat by which Pakistan shall stand committed to all the responsibilities and agreements signed by Kalat and the British

Government from 1839 to 1947 and by this, Pakistan shall be the legal, constitutional and political successor of the British.

5. In order to discuss finally the relations between Kalat and Pakistan on matters of Defence, Foreign Relations and Communications, deliberations will be held in the near future in Karachi.

Thus, Kalat State virtually became part and parcel of Pakistan even ten days before it came into existence, whereas other Indian States were still undecided.

A Memorable Conversation

After the signing ceremony of the Standstill Agreement, there was an interesting conversation among the three of us—the Quaid-e-Azam, Lord Mountbatten and myself.

I said to the Quaid-e-Azam: "Sir, it is due to my persuasion that the Baluch regions got merged with Pakistan ten days before its coming into existence."

The Quaid-e-Azam replied: "No doubt, it is in fact due to your efforts that the Baluches are with us. Every citizen of Pakistan shall remember your efforts with gratitude and give you all respect and honour for this."

Lord Mountbatten (in a tone of advice), "Mr. Jinnah, I am sure you shall be giving all respect and honour to the Khan of Kalat. This gesture will help to have better relations with Iran and Afghanistan."

The Quaid-e-Azam replied: "Khan of Kalat is the right hand of Pakistan (meaning true friend). It is a fact that Baluchistan has played a substantial role in the creation of Pakistan."

A few weeks after the agreement, the Agent to the Governor-General informed the rulers of Kharan and Lasbela that the control of their regions had been transferred to the Kalat State. Hence they were under the direct sphere of influence of Kalat. Copies of this Memorandum were sent to me separately.

THE DAWN OF A MUSLIM HOMELAND

And finally dawned the historic day of 14th August, 1947; and with it 'Pakistan' at last emerged on the map of the world. To the masses who breathed the air on the dawn of this morning and particularly to the Muslims in what was now the new State of Pakistan, it was a day of jubilant freedom; but to Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah it was a solemn moment of fulfilment of a sacred mission. The land, like a mother having suffered the throes of a birth, lay bleeding.

They Hindu mythical gods and goddesses were satiated through sadistic orgies in the streets and the open fields; but the resonant call of *Allah-o-Akbar* from the top of the mosques in Pakistan reminded the nation of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar's immortal couplet:

قبل حسین اصل میں مرگے بڑیدھے اسلام زندہ ہوتا ہے ہر کربلا کے بعد

Each calamity that Muslims had to face throughout their history was, and continues to be, a source of glory that rises higher and still higher. Thus, the sanctity and the vital force of Islam cannot be evaluated in terms of the immensity of the loss of human lives and other materialistic considerations. The driving force behind the movement for Pakistan was obviously this religious and characteristic spirit—the spirit to sacrifice smaller wants for greater good;

baser things for nobler attainments; and present comforts for future salvation.

Kalat's Declaration of Independence

The Kalat Government made a formal declaration of its independence on 15th August, 1947, soon after the end of the British supremacy, and one day after Pakistan's coming into being on the map of the Subcontinent.

I also sent a deputation comprising of my Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to Karachi to have discussions and come to an honourable settlement in the light of the mutually endorsed Standstill Agreement of 11th August, 1947, so that the Baluches may henceforth play their due part as 'a friend in need' to Pakistan.

Thus, in the days that followed this precious achievement of a homeland for Indian Muslims, there lay a stupendous task before the nation, particularly before the Quaid and the new generation of political leaders. The Quaid-e-Azam, therefore, continued to be the focus of the entire nation, now adjectivated as the 'Pakistani Nation' with a new flag of their own, and a fresh mission of consolidation and national integration on all fronts.

So, conscious of what lay before him, the Quaid-e-Azam got down to the task without delay, and set about squaring up matters that demanded immediate attention in the light of the Pakistan Plan under which India was divided into two independent and sovereign dominions. This naturally entailed the matter of the position of States and their choice of remaining independent or joining any of the two dominions.

Accordingly, the matter of Kalat was duly taken up; and deliberations commenced on the future of Kalat vis-a-vis the Government of Pakistan.

I will discuss this subject in some detail in the next chapter.

Politics is no exact science.

Bismark: *Speech in Prussian Chamber, 1863*

Chapter 9

Kalat's Merger with Pakistan

FOLLOWING the preliminary talks between the nominees of the Kalat Government and the Government of Pakistan, the Quaid-e-Azam invited me to visit Karachi—the capital of the new State. Accordingly I called on him in October, 1947.

Why Pakistanis and Baloches forget this?
 “As an elder brother and friend”, spoke the Quaid after the usual exchange of formalities, “I would sincerely advise you to merge your State with Pakistan. Both the States will be benefited by this measure. As far as the demands and other problems of Kalat are concerned, these will be finally decided in a spirit of mutual friendship.”

“I have great respect for your advice”, I replied, “and it is my considered opinion that Kalat's merger is necessary in order to make Pakistan stronger. In this connection, I would suggest that Baluchistan, being a land of numerous tribes, the people there must be duly consulted in the matter prior to any decision I take; for, according to the prevalent tribal convention, no decision can be binding upon them unless they are taken into confidence beforehand by their Khan.”

With this provisional arrangement, I returned from Karachi and promptly summoned Dar-ul-Awam and Dar-ul-Umra (the Lower and Upper Houses of State Parliament) and proposed to the House to accord me a mandate on the matter of Kalat's merger with Pakistan. Both the Houses, however, contended unanimously that the proposal of Kalat's merger militated against the spirit of the earlier agreement arrived at between Kalat Government and the spokesmen of Pakistan on 4th August, 1947, as also against the Independence Act of 1947. In view of this, the members decided that further talks with the Government of Pakistan should be held on the basis of the agreements referred to.

This decision of the Kalat's Parliament was forwarded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, for necessary processing.

Shortly afterwards, the Quaid-e-Azam visited Sibi; and during his stay there, insisted upon me to sign the merger documents in my personal capacity. Noting the urgency in the Quaid's insistence, I disclosed to him that on my individual persuasion, the members of both the Houses of my State Parliament had signified their consent for merger subject to the following specific conditions:

- (i) No laws will be enacted without prior consent of the Baluch tribes as might affect their traditional customs and traditions.
- (ii) The presence of all tribal Sardars is necessary at the ceremony of Kalat's merger, if and when it takes place; and the Khan-e-Azam and the Quaid-e-Azam should sign the merger documents before them.

(iii) The Quaid-e-Azam and the Government of Pakistan should issue a statement eulogizing the role of the Baluch people and their Khan-e-Azam in the cause of the historic struggle culminating in the establishment of the sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan, and the Baluch's services for the glory of Islam in the Subcontinent, so that their selfless sacrifices may find their due place in the records of written history, thereby serving as a source of permanent pride for the coming generations of Baluch's in respect of the achievements of their forefathers.

(iv) Lastly, the Quaid-e-Azam should personally address the traditional gathering of tribal Sardars, appreciating and acknowledging their sincere services in the cause of Islam and Pakistan.

Enumerating the above pre-conditions, I explained to the Quaid-e-Azam that the Baluch's are by nature very sensitive to personal honour and self-respect; and that no price can be too high for the preservation of these virtues. Wealth without acknowledged honour has no place in their outlook on life. I also emphasized to him that he had been testing our fidelity and sincerity of purpose since 1936; and that, therefore, he should not have any doubt in his mind concerning the final merger of Kalat in the immediate future. I further suggested that he should instruct the A.G.G. (who was an Englishman) to guide the Baluch tribal leaders into accepting the merger of their State without any hesitation.

Having given the Quaid a clear picture of the conditional consent of both the Houses of Kalat's Parliament, I returned to my camp at Dhadar. It was scheduled that we would

meet again the next day; but I was unfortunately laid up in bed due to illness, and could not, therefore, pursue the matter further for the time being.

In order to understand the subsequent events that followed, I must give here a perspective background.

I had been in direct touch with the Quaid-e-Azam right since 1936 to 1948 when he died. As such, we had come to know and understand each other fairly well; but soon after the creation of Pakistan, the Quaid was surrounded by certain top-men who, I may frankly say, were not the true well-wishers of the new State. Among such black sheep were the Agent to the Governor-General, my own Prime Minister, and Col. S.B. Shah. These individuals, plainly speaking, were opposed to the idea of Kalat's merger with Pakistan. On the contrary, they had a soft corner for the Hindu-dominated Indian National Congress in their hearts. Therefore, now that Pakistan was a hard reality, these unscrupulous men started playing a double role. On one hand, they coaxed the tribal Sardars to oppose the move for merger; and on the other, they laboured to create misunderstandings between me and the Quaid-e-Azam by telling him that the "Khan-e-Azam was avoiding the merger of Kalat State". I will quote only one instance here.

As stated earlier, I could not pursue the matter of conditional merger the next day after my talk with the Quaid-e-Azam on the subject on account of my illness; and was, therefore, resting in my camp at Dhadar. This man, Col. S.B. Shah, called upon me at this camp knowing fully well that I was unwell. However, since I knew the inner working of his mind, I suffered to give him more time than he expected. During the talk he had with me, I tried to educate his thinking,

and bring home to his mind the responsibilities he owned to the newly-born State of Pakistan.

The next day, he wrote to me a letter confirming that he had come to me at the instance of the Quaid-e-Azam, and that he had posted the Quaid with these points:

- (a) "That you (*i.e.*, me) have at last acquiesced to merge Kalat State with Pakistan for the benefit of the people of Kalat.
- (b) "That you have summoned the Dar-ul-Awam and the Dar-ul-Umra on the 21st of this month, and that you would let us know the decision arrived at by them."

In the end he wrote :

"The Quaid-e-Azam has instructed me to thank you for this. He was sad to know that you were not well, and that you would inform him about the result of the decision by the end of this month."

Sd/-
S. B. Shah

Accordingly, the Quaid-e-Azam handed over the matter of merger to his newly formed Cabinet. It must be borne in mind that the members were new entrants to this high office, and lacked the requisite experience of handling sensitive matters like the ethnological, historical and traditional background of Baluches, coupled with the peculiar geographic position their land occupied, on the map of the Indian sub-continent.

As for Quaid-e-Azam, he had suddenly become 'very old' after over two decades of energetic leadership of the Muslims. In fact, he was now sick and weak. He badly needed

Misunderstanding between State and Kalat.

complete rest. His deputies were not men of his calibre. It was, therefore, no surprise that the affairs of Baluchistan were mis-handled: instead of going about their task in a spirit of love and mutual trust, their approach to the matter was that of apprehension and animosity, for which, of course, there was no ground whatsoever.

However, I wanted to finalize the merger as soon as possible; and with this end in view, I worked harder, and at last succeeded in securing the people's consent through long discussions, deliberations and persuasions. I even put the pressure of my personal influence. Having thus been mandated, I informed the Government of Pakistan of the decision as under:

- (i) That my Government will get the merger of Kalat State finalized within 3 months.
- (ii) That in pursuance of Baluch traditions, the Khan-e-Azam will proceed to Karachi along with his advisers to sign the merger documents as soon as these were finally drafted.

The Pakistan Cabinet, manned, as I said earlier, by incompetent and inexperienced members, and basing their policy formulations on absurd assumptions, was working on the scheme to break up the 500-year old State. The nature of their programme, as it turned out subsequently, was tantamount to a political castration of the Baluch people. For, the Cabinet decided to cut off Kharan and Lasbela—the two subordinate States of Kalat—by giving them an equal status with that of Kalat, and obtaining their 'mergers' with Pakistan directly. Similarly, Makran which had been a part of Kalat State for the last 300 years, was made 'independent' of Kalat State

on 17th March, 1948; and one of its three Sardars was made its ruler. Thus Makran, too, became a part of Pakistan.

These hasty steps were not only foolish for political reasons, but were also illegal and oppressive in their nature. The Baluches were naturally disillusioned by these insane actions of the Pakistan Cabinet. Rightly they felt that all their erstwhile services and sacrifices in the cause of Pakistan were now forgotten. So deep was their despair and frustration that several of them even wanted to revolt; and some elements made no secret of it.

Seeing the infant State of Pakistan in hot waters, the All-India Radio broadcast a mischievous and misleading, but suggestive news bulletin on 27th March, 1948. This false piece of 'news' was to this effect:

"... two months ago, the Kalat Government had applied to the Government of India for merger; but the Indian Government rejected their request on the ground of its geographical position."

Obviously, the purpose of this mischievous Indian propaganda was to widen the gulf of hatred between Baluchistan and Pakistan. There was not even an iota of truth in what the broadcast said; but all the same, it was venomous enough.

Consequently, the neighbouring countries were quick to take notice of this vulnerable situation in Pakistan which was hardly an year-old baby. In fact, reaction to these developments was particularly quick and sharp in Afghanistan, India and Kashmir. As a result:

- (i) The Government and the people of Afghanistan

became increasingly suspicious and adopted a hostile attitude towards Pakistan.

- (ii) Finding Pakistan in trouble, Bharat attacked Hyderabad State in the Deccan on 9th September, 1948, and subdued it on the 17th; and the Nizam had perforce to suffer the humiliation of seeing his State being totally annexed to India.
- (iii) Capitalizing the situation, the Maharaja of Kashmir also merged his State with Bharat.
- (iv) The influential Arab Sheikhs of the Gulf had all along been in favour of the Muslim movement for Pakistan; but seeing the unjust treatment of Baluches, they withdrew their support to Pakistan, and instead inclined favourably towards Bharat.

I, therefore, took immediate cognizance of this malicious propaganda against Pakistan and Kalat State, and wrote strongly worded letters of protest to the Indian Government. As a result, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to give a statement in the Indian legislature, saying that the news broadcast by the All-India Radio "was due to some misunderstanding, for which the Government of India sincerely apologize". Besides this, I received several personal letters from Pandit Nehru in this connection, which I gave over to the press for publication in order to dispel doubts and suspicions from the minds of the people.

Meanwhile, the wave of hatred and animosity generated by the wrong policies of the then Government of Pakistan against Kalat was fast gaining dimensions all over Baluchistan. Feelings in the tribal areas particularly were running high against Pakistan, and even against my own position

both as the Head of a Baluch State as well as one who had himself participated morally and materially in the establishment of Pakistan.

For me, this ugly development was a serious predicament, because Pakistan, which to me has all along been a symbol of Islam in the subcontinent, was now on its severe historical test. Things were moving fast towards a show-down. The Government of Pakistan had now instructed the Brigadier stationed in Quetta to be on the 'alert for action' against Kalat; and the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan was also preparing for 'police action' against Kalat State. Besides these internal gravities, Pakistan stood facing other crucial situations on the external fronts also, the most important developments being:

- (a) Armed clashes with the Indian army for the liberation of Kashmir.
- (b) Afghanistan started its slogan of "Pakhtoonistan", and was inciting the Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province with money and material in order to give momentum to this political stunt.
- (c) Muslim refugees from India were pouring in daily through the borders in millions.
- (d) Muslims in India were being massacred wholesale by the Hindus; and the connivance of the Indian Government in this genocide was at its peak.
- (e) Russia was pressing its demand of access to the port of Gwadar on the Sind coast.

This then was the situation as it stood in the first quarter of 1948. I was in a desperate fix, and had to take quick decisions.

There was no time to think or deliberate. The very existence of Pakistan was at stake. I realized that I must act now, and act quick.

Therefore, without obtaining the formal sanction from the tribal Sardars, I signed the merger documents in my capacity as the Khan-e-Azam on 30th March, 1948. I confess, I knew I was exceeding the scope of my mandate; yet, I am grateful to my people and the tribal Sardars that, despite this, they did not raise a single voice of any nature of protest against my decision on their behalf. And I am pleased to be able to say that I still enjoy their full confidence and trust today as I had in the past.

The matter of signing the merger documents was also one of those dictates of history which a ruler must always respect for the good of futurity. Had I not taken the immediate step of signing Kalat's merger, the position of Pakistan would definitely have gone worse. The British Agent to the Governor-General could have played havoc by leading Pakistan into a fratricide war against the Baluches. The army of Afghanistan could have easily entered into Baluchistan. India, too, could have aggravated the situation by sending her naval warships to the Makran sea-coast, obviously to help the Baluches, but in reality, this would have provided the best pretext for Russia to advance through Afghanistan and capture the ports on the Makran sea-coast.

How far was I right in sensing the triangular menace of India, Russia and Afghanistan, and in acting in the manner I did, can be better understood by a case study of the loss of East Pakistan in 1971 where, if 'Mujib's Bengali secessionists' be substituted for 'Afghanistan', the picture of the developments that followed presents a subtle similitude to

situation as it stood threateningly in March 1948. I have, no regrets whatsoever for what I did in the major interests of the Baluches and the country I call my own, both of whom are equally dear to me.

However, in the situation as it factually stood, there was hardly any time for me to go through the constitutional formalities of consulting the members of the Diwan-e-Aam and the Diwan-e-Khas or to take them all to Karachi for witnessing the ceremony of signing of the merger documents, at a time when Pakistan was faced with a grave situation on several fronts, including Baluchistan, where the prevalent public feelings of frustration were acute enough to disrupt and weaken the already shaky position of the country at large. As such, I being myself a staunch and sacrificing supporter of the Islamic ideology of Pakistan, could not bear to be a party to its destruction. I abhorred the idea of mutual bloodshed of Muslims; and therefore acted the way I did.

And having done so, I stuck to it like a rock. I had two things to contend with: (1) pacification of my Baluch brethren, and (2) the Government of Pakistan. I checked the consternation of my people by cheering and advising them to keep cool and do nothing that might in any manner harm the beloved homeland of Muslims—Pakistan—at this critical moment soon after its after-birth. On the other end, I kept myself in constant touch with the Government of Pakistan, striving hard to avoid any misunderstanding between us, and keeping intact an atmosphere of mutual friendship.

And then came a bolt from the blue !

A fortnight after the merger, on the 15th of April, 1948, to be exact, the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan

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called upon me with an order of the Quaid-e-Azam, informing me that it was decided to maintain a *status quo ante* in Kalat. That is the position of Kalat State would revert back to what it was during the preceding British rule! A Political Agent—an officer subordinate to the Agent to the Governor-General—was appointed to look after the administration of the State and guide the Chief Minister in all internal affairs.

Thus, my legal authority as the Khan-e-Azam came to an end on 15th April, 1948, and my connections with the affairs of Kalat were cut off; and within 20 hours of the Orders executed upon me, several of the ministers of Kalat Government were exiled or arrested.

It was indeed a sad as well as an oppressive thing to have so coolly and deliberately ignored the services and sacrifices which the Baluches and their Khan-e-Azam had so unselfishly and willingly rendered in the struggle for the establishment of the Muslim homeland of Pakistan. To me in particular, the shock was all the more greater; for, apart from my moral and material contributions towards the emergence of Pakistan, I had worked ceaselessly for the uplift of my people. All the socio-economic and administrative reforms which I had introduced were suddenly reversed into back-gear. The Baluch representative Parliament and the Baluch Confederation were broken by one stroke of the pen. The laws based on Islamic *Sharia* were suspended.

A few months later, the Quaid-e-Azam breathed his last on the 11th of September, 1948.

Stunned, disappointed, let down and helpless, there was nothing I could do except retire into a life of a recluse, which eventually I did. But habits die hard; and inborn

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BALUCHISTAN



The author with Russian delegate Jacob Malik, and Professor Pitras Bokhari of Pakistan at the U.N.O. in 1952.

temperaments do not normally change with events. My life throughout was a life of activity and dynamism in one sphere or the other. This forced life of retirement, therefore, did not suit me; and I was soon tired of its monotony.

Thus, in order to keep myself occupied in gainful occupations, I wanted to proceed on an extensive tour of Muslim and European countries with a view to observe and study their modes and methods of administration and organizations; and incidentally it so happened that I was requested by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, to accompany Sir Zafrullah Khan as an observer at the U.N.O., in New York. I accepted this offer for it provided me with the opportunity I needed of touring some cities of Europe, America, Turkey and Iraq. Since then I have visited Europe and America thrice and have also had the good fortune of performing the *Haj* (the ordained pilgrimage to Mecca) and visiting other holy places in Iraq four times.

I intended visiting Iran, too, where there are several sacred places; and with this in view, I applied to the Ambassador of Iran for the requisite visa in 1949. But the Ambassador, informed me that I could visit only Tehran, where I would be welcomed as a personal guest of the Shahinshah of Iran, and that the Iranian Government was unable to permit my tour from Meshed to Zahidan.

I must say here that the Shah of Iran is the most energetic and active ruling king today. The Muslims in Pakistan, particularly the Baluches, are most grateful to him for the keen interest he is taking in the welfare of our brethren across the border—the Irani Baluches—with anti-poverty and anti-illiteracy reforms in the region. As a matter of fact, we owe our gratitude to each and every country interested in bettering the lot of Pakistani nationals inhabiting therein.

Afghanistan is another Muslim State with which Baluchistan has had close historical relationship for centuries. It was only in the recent past that the British, having entrenched themselves during the Moghul rule over India, gained an upper hand in the power politics of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Iran and the Arabian Gulf States. Russia was then the only power which sought to promote its influence in these Asian countries. The British expansionists might well have succeeded in their plans, had it not been for the effective diplomatic policy of King Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan, who, with the help of his capable General, Nadir Khan, and his brothers, rooted out British influence from their country. Subsequently, however, Amanullah Khan committed the fatal mistake of coming into conflict with Nadir Khan and his brothers, which blunder eventually cost him his throne.

As stated in the earlier chapters of this book, Baluchistan and Afghanistan had figured prominently in the evolution of the history of the Indian subcontinent since the earliest Aryan migrations from Central Asia. Afghanistan was also associated subsequently with Baluch rulers and the British campaigns against the Sikhs in 1765; and my own forefathers, too, had helped some of the Afghan rulers, only to be betrayed later—in 1839—when Shah Shuja played the traitor. It was, therefore, natural that I had a desire to visit and see for myself how this ancient kingdom had transformed itself into the reportedly modern Afghanistan of our own times. This wish, however, could not be materialized, as Pakistan and Afghanistan were not on good terms. As such, quite understandably, I was not allowed by Liaquat Ali Khan to proceed even upto the North-West Frontier Province or Peshawar.

The foreign country that I last visited was the Peoples Republic of China, where I went in the company of Mr. Bhutto (presently the Prime Minister of Pakistan).

You can never have a revolution in order to establish a democracy. You must have a democracy in order to have a revolution.

G. K. Chesterton: *Tremendous Trifles*

Chapter 10

The Roaring of Guns

AS mentioned earlier, I had no functional connection with the administration of Kalat State since 15th April, 1948. The Political Agent was the all-in-all who was charged with all the responsibilities of running the State affairs. However, I used to be called in whenever the Government needed my advice and cooperation in times of difficulty. Truly speaking, I was leading a life of forced retirement.

Nevertheless, I was observing the trend of events that developed rapidly like one scene of a drama after another since the death of the Quaid-e-Azam in 1948 and the tragic assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in October, 1952. Governments came and Governments went; but Pakistan still remained without a workable Constitution. A game of political hide-and-seek was being played by one party after another. It was indeed a painful thing to see Pakistan—the dreamland of Muslims—being made an arena for political wrestlers who stepped in to exhibit their political acrobatics only to be outdone by one another. The meaningless experiment, called One Unit in 1955, was one such performance which, however, was duly discarded later.

This slipping in and slipping out of power-crazy 'leaders' continued unabated. The year 1957 was now drawing close to its end; and yet the administration and political situation in the country was as fluid as it ever was. Kalat and Quetta, which were part and parcel of the State, were now two different Divisions. This vivisection of West Pakistan, particularly the further dissecting of Kalat, was a painful operation for me and the Baluches to bear. This was certainly not what the Baluches had expected for all the sacrifices they had made towards the creating of Pakistan on the ideological basis of Islam, which seeks to foster unity and not its disfigurement.

It was, therefore, natural that the Baluches were getting progressively restive on account of the treatment that was being meted out to them. But it must be said in all fairness that we did not take any wrong step that would precipitate matters to the detriment of Pakistan, in the making of which we had an equal, if not more, share. For us—the Baluches—Pakistan was an article of faith; and 'faith' with us is something that clings to us as long as we breathe as mortals. History stands testimony to the fact that it is a tradition with us to suffer at the hands of our own kith and kin, for it requires more courage to suffer than to die. In fact, we are healed of suffering only by experiencing it to the fullest extent. No matter what the odds are, sincerity is a virtue with us that is as sublime as the Creator wishes it to be. For us, and indeed it should be so for all, there is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on self-examination.

But if this quality of sincerity fails to beget its due recognition from those at whom it is directed, it is but natural for voices to be raised—not so much as 'protests', but as a reminder of what was given and what was received.

It was in this contextual background that a representative body of tribal Sardars and other acknowledged dignitaries of Kalat State called on me on 17th December, 1957, and submitted a Memorandum drawing attention to the following salient points, reproduced in original:

- (i) That the tribal Sardars and the dignitaries of Baluchistan, while expressing their full faith and confidence in the Government of Pakistan, had assured the Government of their sincere cooperation in all matters. They had been loyal and sincere to the Government of Pakistan since the day of its birth, rather ten years before (1937 to 1947) the conception of Pakistan took a concrete shape.
- (ii) That they had voluntarily shown the desire of merger on 4th August, 1947, by signing a document, and handed over all the Baluch territories to Pakistan prior to the creation of Pakistan. In appreciation of these sacrifices and services, the Government of Pakistan was requested not to make any alterations or bring about any changes in their local traditional customs, as these were part and parcel of their tribal way of life.
- (iii) That the boundaries of the Baluch territory were spread over thousands of miles touching the borders of Afghanistan, Iran and the Persian Gulf on one side; and on the other, a belt of over 300 miles spreading over the coast of the Arabian Sea. The Baluch tribes are keeping a strict and vigilant watch on these borders against activities detrimental to the interests of Pakistan.

- (iv) They hold that the experience of the One Unit type of Government was dangerous for the ancient tribal customs and way of life; and as such, they were unable to accept the same. It must be withdrawn.
- (v) They demanded that the Baluches should be treated at par with the tribal people of the North-West Frontier, where the tribal customs and traditions are not touched; and adequate arrangements be made to safeguard their cultural values which they love more than their life.
- (vi) During the final merger talks of Kalat with Pakistan in 1948, they had expressed doubts that after the merger of Kalat their local customs would not be safe, and as such, they had then requested the Quaid-e-Azam and the Khan-e-Azam, Kalat, to sign a joint written guarantee in this respect. Unfortunately, however, the request was not considered then. They earnestly beseeched me now to see that their demands were accepted, thereby preserving their tribal culture and traditional way of life.

I thanked the Baluch Sardars and the elders for their trust and confidence in me, and was pleased to find that they had noble sentiments for Pakistan as true citizens of the country. It was my only heart-felt wish to continue to serve my Baluch brethren till the last breath, whether in office or not. I was proud to note that they were prepared to sacrifice their all for Pakistan.

I then studied their Memorandum thoroughly, and felt sure that the Government of Pakistan being their own

national Government, would consider the same seriously. General Sikandar Mirza, the President of Pakistan, being an expert on tribal affairs, had the requisite experience of presiding over the department of tribal affairs for several years with great success. So I sincerely advised the Sardars and the elders to keep complete peace and an atmosphere of harmony among the tribes, and that they should extend full cooperation to the Government in all matters. In the meantime, I would try to arrange a meeting between the tribal Sardars and the President of Pakistan, General Sikandar Mirza.

The Baluch tribes were getting more and more restless. The President of Pakistan received thousands of letters of protest against the administration of the States under One Unit Government. These letters of protest carried a threat that if the decision was not revoked, the Baluch people would not hesitate to take up arms against the Government. The matter was now heading towards a critical point; and this was brought home to the President by me. At last through my efforts, a meeting between the Baluch Sardars and President Sikandar Mirza was arranged on 8th October, 1957, in which forty-four tribal Sardars participated. The following points were discussed:

- (1) No change in the ancient tribal customs be made against the will of Baluch tribes.
- (2) In appreciation of the selfless services and sacrifices of the people of Baluchistan for the cause of Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan should be considerate and generous in allowing the people to be governed by their tribal customs.
- (3) As the Khan-e-Azam is fully aware of the ancient tribal way of life, it is requested that his advice and

guidance should be sought if any change is found necessary. The changes must be gradual and not abrupt.

- (4) The amount sanctioned for the development and welfare of the tribal areas must be spent in consultation with the people, as in the past. The amount so far spent had gone waste.
- (5) The Government of Pakistan had promised to spend an amount of Rs. 80 million on development projects of the Baluch States Union; but according to our estimate and survey, the amount spent on the projects was not more than Rs. 10 million. We would, therefore, request you to kindly investigate the matter and bring the culprits to book for cheating the Government on this account.

Sikandar Mirza's Response

The President gave a patient hearing to the demands of the Baluch Sardars, and in reply told them:

- (1) That he would consult legal authorities and get their legal opinion on the question of exemption of Kalat State from One Unit and its regaining the original position it held before it. A survey of how the One Unit system of West Pakistan would affect the administration of Kalat and the tribal way of life would also be carried out. In addition to this, if the majority of the Baluch population expressed their desire against absorption in One Unit, the matter would be considered sympathetically.
- (2) The services of an expert of international fame in legal matters would be obtained to examine the

legal aspects of re-instating the *status quo* of the defunct Kalat State.

- (3) The tribal Sardars should provide sufficient proof to the Government of Pakistan regarding their claim that majority of the people wanted separation from One Unit.
- (4) As for their ancient tribal customs and traditions, which are regarded as sacred by the Baluches, the President asked the Sardars to submit to him a detailed list of the same through the Khan-e-Azam in order to enable him to study these in the light of the laws of the country and see how far these could be acquiesced.
- (5) The sufferings, services and the sacrifices which the Baluches and their Khan-e-Azam had to face for the cause of establishment of Pakistan was acknowledged publicly on Government basis; and the Baluches were instructed to keep an atmosphere of peace and harmony in Baluchistan, and struggle hard for the development and progress of Pakistan.

The meeting came to an end in a very cordial and peaceful atmosphere, and the President made me stay with him for a fortnight (7th to 20th October) as his personal guest, during which time we had several meetings.

The President during the course of these meetings advised me to avail the services of an expert legal adviser, preferably Lord Macnair of London, and seek his advice if the withdrawal of Kalat State from One Unit would weaken the position of One Unit Government. He also stated that in order to make the withdrawal of Kalat State (including

Lasbela, Makran, and Kharan—sub-States of Kalat State) more democratic and legal, a referendum of the Baluch people be held on this question throughout the State. This, he said, was essential because Pakistan was wedded to democracy.

I took these suggestions as a hint from him, and planned to visit London soon. I was not keeping good health for some time past; and this provided me the opportunity for a medical check-up as well.

Sikander Mirza's real intentions

During my stay with Sikander Mirza as his personal guest, his real intentions were revealed to me. Sikander Mirza was nervous because of the popular agitation directed against him by Mis Fatima Jinnah, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, and particularly Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy who had addressed the members of the Senate in US for more than one-hundred minutes in a marvellous speech which completely bewitched the Americans. Suhrawardy was very popular; and Miss Fatima Jinnah was held in great esteem and respect. With her on their side, the leaders could easily carry victory against Sikander Mirza in the elections. He wanted me to side with him, and demanded from me Rs. 50 lacs to contest the elections, the amount being the bribe in lieu of his assurance given to me to withdraw Kalat from One Unit on the ground of popular agitation against it. He even suggested to me to bring pressure upon the rulers of Bahawalpur and Khairpur also to pay him Rs. 40 lacs and Rs. 10 lacs respectively for getting their States exempted.

However, I was firm in my opinion that he should be friendly towards the popular leaders. This would make the Presidential chair safer for him. I wanted the responsibility

of the State affairs to be entrusted entirely to the Prime Minister. The idea had no taste for him.

He got suspicious of me as well! He was determined to impose Martial Law in case the result of the polls went against him.

Martial Law Plan

In a private meeting, Sikander Mirza disclosed to me that he had invited the Nawab of Bhopal from India who would be offered Premiership, and that he himself would be the President. Martial Law would be imposed throughout Pakistan till such time as was necessary for setting the results of the general elections in his favour.

I was stunned to hear this evil plan from him, and asked him if he had taken the Commander-in-Chief in confidence on the subject, as he had the fullest control of the army. Sikander Mirza replied: "If Ayub Khan dared to come in the way, he would be finished in no time." The President then asked me to probe Ayub's mind on the matter.

The same evening, I met Ayub Khan at a party. I hinted to him secretly in Pashto what Sikander Mirza had confided to me. On hearing me, Ayub grew red and replied: "I would be the last man to counsel the President to take such a wrong step." The reply was exactly to my expectation, and made him more respectable in my eyes. After a short pause, he said, "Khan Saheb, the army's primary duty is to defend the country. If entangled in politics, the army will lose its real character."

When told of it, Sikander Mirza was greatly perturbed at the attitude of Ayub Khan. But I was fully satisfied.

The Nawab of Bhopal arrived the next day in response to Sikander Mirza's invitation; but the latter had left on foreign tour. The Nawab therefore called on me. We had known each other for long; and our brotherly relations warranted no formalities or reservations. Therefore, I got on to the subject immediately. I asked him straight away about the purpose of his visit to Pakistan. He replied plainly that I ought to be in the know of 'facts', for the 'Scheme' laid out by Sikander Mirza had had my blessings! He also added that it was the association of my name in the 'Scheme' that had brought him here. I told him that it was the other way round, and that it was his name which had been mentioned in support of the 'Scheme'.

The Nawab was taken aback at this disclosure; and he emphasized that he had nothing whatsoever to do with any such scheme the President might have in mind.

I was beginning to see things more clearly now!

So, I took the Nawab in confidence, and gave him a brief sketch of the administrative intrigues being resorted to by Sikander Mirza. I told him that in view of internal oppositions and party alignments, the President was sure to be dislodged soon from his high office; and that it was this apprehension that was driving him to desperate limits, so much so that he was now seeking to make a scapegoat of both of us for the furtherance of his evil designs. I fervently appealed to the Nawab not to fall a prey to Sikander Mirza's ugly plans. I explained to him that his position in India was much more safe, as he was receiving an annual personal allowance of Rs. 2 million from the Government of India in addition to honour, respect and other privileges. Besides these, I reminded him, he had his own business enterprises in England.

Thus I made him realize in all earnestness that if, as schemed by Sikander Mirza, he fell a victim to the temptations of the Premiership of Pakistan, all his Royal allowances and privileges would be permanently lost to him.

The Nawab, I am glad to say, was overwhelmed by the sincerity of my advice.

"Thank God", he said grasping me in a brotherly embrace, "that I was fortunate enough to meet you first. I was also thinking of you on the same lines."

"I would, however, request you", I told him cautiously, "to treat our talk as 'top secret', because, as you see, my position is extremely delicate. If Sikander Mirza comes to know of how I kept you aloof in this game, he would let loose a terrible revenge upon me."

It was then arranged between us that the Nawab, instead of refusing Sikander Mirza's overtures flatly, would ask for 'some more time' in order to enable him to wind up his business affairs in England, and make suitable arrangements in respect of his property in India.

On return from his tour, President Sikander Mirza had a long joint meeting lasting three to four hours with myself and the Nawab of Bhopal. The latter "promised" that he would come over to Pakistan by April. Soon after this, the Nawab flew off to his country.

I could discern it in his eyes that Sikander Mirza smelt some suspicion about me; but I promptly allayed it by assuring him that the Nawab of Bhopal "would certainly come by April"; and that I, too, would be back by then in Pakistan from my impending tour of Europe.

Naheed Mirza

Keats must have been dreaming when he said: "A thing of beauty is joy for ever"; and Ruskin on the other hand was wide awake when he asserted: "Remember that the most beautiful things in the world are the most useless; pea-cocks and lilies for instance." How true! Whether or not this woman, Naheed, really had any such attributes of feminine charms is irrelevant to the subject under discussion.

I had known this Persian woman for the past 4 years as the wife of a certain Iranian official, much before she chose to be legally called as 'Naheed Mirza' in Pakistan; and I can say that she was definitely a woman of dubious character. Using her well-seasoned feminine assets, this prototype of Mata Hari managed to clutch Sikander Mirza into such a consumative grip that the poor Major General lost all control over his sanity and succumbed helplessly to the foxiness of this wide-experienced woman. She became, quite masterfully, his virtual 'Dictator' in all deliberations both inside and outside the President's House.

I would even say that with her 'coming into power', the ship of Pakistan's destiny, too, started drifting shakily towards stormy waters, and ultimately landed in a situation from where only Providence could retrieve it. In short, Sikander Mirza and Yahya Khan—the latter being the man under whom East Pakistan was lost—both belonged to that beastly class of Nero-like men who played the fiddle while the country was burning, and for whom the word 'patriotism' had no meaning except satiating their selfish and sensual urges. The eventual disintegration of Pakistan which Yahya Khan hastened in 1971 was but the ultimate manifestation of the mission which Sikander Mirza had earlier embarked upon, more as an infatuated husband of Naheed than as an incompetent President.

However, to resume my account, General Ayub Khan, who was then the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, was not in favour of Sikander Mirza's plan for imposing Martial Law on the country. It was solely due to Ayub Khan's resistance that Sikander Mirza had to keep delaying this move so far.

Truly speaking, after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, the country came under the control of civil and military officers who danced to the tunes of foreign powers without any respect or regard for public opinion and national sentiments. These unscrupulous bureaucrats ruled Pakistan from 1952 to 1971, which was a sufficiently long period for the ruination of any new-born country still in the process of its making.

Prelude to Martial Law

I had long been wanting to go abroad for a thorough medical check-up. The President now sanctioned an amount of ten-thousand dollars for the purpose, and also wrote to the embassies to provide all facilities befitting my status. I left in March 1957 for London, where I met Lord Macnair on my return from U.S.A. As advised by Sikander Mirza, I put Kalat's case before him, and acquainted him with the details of the present situation with the introduction of One Unit.

According to Lord Macnair, the matter of the Kalat's absorption in the One Unit Government was not legal. Rather, it was purely an instance of political pressure tactics. There was a precedent in N.W.F.P. as well, where the States were exempted from joining the One Unit. I came back to Pakistan with the Report of Lord Macnair, and informed the tribal Sardars of his legal opinion.

On my reaching Baluchistan, I found a chaotic state of affairs prevailing throughout the province. The tribal Sardars were not cooperating with the executive, and had boycotted the Jirga called in by the Commissioner. Soon after my arrival in Kalat, the Commissioner came to me with a request to save the situation. I asked the Sardars to cooperate with the Government. The Sardars in obedience and respect to me attended the Jirga, for which the Commissioner was extremely grateful to me. Soon after this, I received a telegram from President Sikander Mirza, advising me to meet him in Karachi immediately.

Due to my illness and sore throat, I was not immediately able to take the journey. Therefore, I wrote back to him stating that I would meet him on 14th October, 1958, not knowing what was to happen by then. Sikander Mirza was prejudiced, as he held me mainly responsible for the failure of his scheme by my putting the Nawab of Bhopal wise to his evil intentions. Despite all this, I made up my mind to go to Karachi, although there was the danger of my being arrested on one pretext or the other.

The tribal Sardars proposed to accompany me to Karachi. I did not agree to their proposal, and told them that I would also discuss the Macnair Report with the President during the talks. The tribal Sardars were advised to keep peace and order, and do nothing which might jeopardize their cause. I was to proceed to Karachi very soon.

With necessary instructions to my servants, I went to bed on the night of 5th October, 1958. Early in the next morning, I woke up in the din and roaring of guns! I was taken aback to find that the Pakistan Army had entered Kalat without any provocation, whatsoever!

Death in the front, Destruction in the rear...

Lord Byron: *Childe Harold-I*

Chapter 11

The Bloody Episode

THE 6th day of October, 1958, will ever remain fresh in the memory of the peoples of Baluchistan; for it was on this day that the forces of tyranny, oppression, and blood-shed were let loose on the simple and innocent Baluches of Kalat for no fault of theirs, except that they held me in great esteem and loved me intensely.

Waking up for their morning prayers on the early morning, the people were stunned to hear the roaring of guns amidst the din of moving trucks, and heavy vehicles which surrounded Kalat from three sides. The ninety-six-mile long road leading from Kalat to Quetta Airport, had every inch of it occupied by heavily armed soldiers, and the neighbouring hillocks had guns fixed on them. The whole of Kalat had changed into a city besieged by an enemy.

On enquiry I was informed that the military had been sent out as a 'precautionary measure', for it had transpired that "I had gathered a strong force comprising of 80,000 tribesman ready in the fortress in order to revolt against the Government".

The news was a revelation to me, and even to the forces sent out to crush the 'revolt' which existed only in the hallucination of Sikander Mirza. Nothing was found by the military in my palace except a few workers, personal servants and guards.

It was an irony of fate that Pakistan Army was employed against a person who had all along been a staunch and active supporter of Pakistan, and had never hesitated from any sacrifice in men or material whenever called for. The unscrupulous firing of the guns did not spare even the sanctity of the *Jama Masjid* (Central mosque) on the minaret of which was fluttering the flag of the Union of Kalat-e-Baluch in green and red, inscribed with the sacred words '*Alla Ho Akbar*', meaning God is great, and *Kalma-e-Tayyaba*: '*La-ilaha-illallah Mohammad-ur-Rasoolullah*' [there is no God but only one Allah, and Muhammad is His (the last) Prophet (peace be upon him).]

The people were wonder-struck to find that the ruination of the sacred mosque and the insult to the sacred words was being done not by the hands of unbelievers like Clive, Wellington or Napier, but by the Muslim President of Pakistan, Sikander Mirza himself.

I could not bear the scene of the ruthless massacre of my innocent people. Carrying the Holy Quran in hand, I rushed out of my chamber where I had had the honour of entertaining the Founder of Pakistan on several occasions. As I relate this incident, I can still hear these oft-repeated words of the Quaid ringing in my ears: "Khan, without your help Baluchistan could not have joined Pakistan." These words of the Quaid-e-Azam show how far the charge of 'revolt' against me could morally be deemed proper.

I gave up myself to the army which paraded with me on the road and streets of Kalat. I witnessed several of my men falling dead on the ground by the indiscriminate firing of the army. My heart was bleeding as I said to them: "Paradise is your lot, I know you are faithful to Pakistan even to your last breath." When my people saw me, they rushed with tearful eyes towards me to bid farewell, but fire was opened at them. I shut my eyes in agony; and knew nothing of what happened there till I found myself in the Lahore Jail.

Five thousand soldiers camped in my palace. My wife and children were locked up in a room, and the whole place was ransacked. The army was on the look out for a currency printing machine supposed to have been installed somewhere in the palace with heaps of literature against Pakistan. But they found nothing substantial to prove the blame. The Royal treasury of my ancestors was taken under military control. The treasury was full of ancient valuables and ancestral coins and several other antiquities. All these valuables were in the custody of the *Subedar*. Things went on disappearing till everything was lost. My armoury was checked up; and it was found that the weapons in the armoury were sealed, showing that they had not been used for years. These empty weapons were taken from the armoury and were removed to Quetta Cantonment where they are still with the Pakistan Army.

Every corner of my palace was thoroughly searched, and everything found therein of whatever little importance or significance, was removed. The loot even bypassed the technique of the Tartars of the bygone days. Kalat was the worst sufferer, comparable to the destruction of Delhi or the sack of Baghdad in the past. On the 6th October, 1958, when the news of my arrest was broadcast by Radio

Pakistan, it was a mourning day for the people of Quetta, Mastung, Nushki, Sibi, Bolan, Dhadar and Baluchistan and the Baluches all over the world.

The people in Quetta took out a huge procession to protest against my arrest. The Government then had to warn the people strictly to the effect that any protest made individually or collectively would be dealt with severely, and that the Government would not hesitate even to shoot down the agitators. The armed soldiers took the place of Police constables to curb the agitations. The law and order situation got further deteriorated; and finally Martial Law was imposed throughout Pakistan on 7th October, 1958.

Despite Martial Law, several of the newspapers wrote editorials and articles, protesting against the promulgation of Martial Law and my arrest, eulogizing my services and sacrifices in the cause of Pakistan. Besides this, the Government started arresting leaders and prominent citizens at Quetta, and sent them to jail. My son, Shahzada Agha Mohiuddin, along with fifty Baluch leaders was also taken into custody in Kalat.

Soon after my arrest, the military besieged Jhalawan and dropped handbills by air, warning peoples not to take part in any anti-Government activities, and directing them to deposit their arms and lethal weapons at the Police Stations, failing which they would be dealt with severely. The authorities knew well that the Baluches love their weapons more than their life; for in their tribal way of life, arms are a necessity and cannot be parted with. Naturally, therefore, the proud people of Jhalawan refused to comply with these orders. This resulted in ruthless attacks on Jhalawan and the neighbourhood by tanks and guns, and thousands of helpless people were killed.

On 8th October, 1958, the Pakistan Army went into inner regions of Jhalawan for more military operations. The passes of Sarawan were closed to traffic and strong guards were posted at them. It appeared as if the Pakistan Army was engaged against a powerful enemy! The simple hillfolks of Baluchistan were alarmed, and in confusion left their homes to take refuge in the mountains. The soldiers entered the tribal villages in search of arms and ammunitions, but could not come across anything worth the trouble.

The Pakistan Army, for the first time, met armed resistance at Danser, where only three young Baluches stood in the way of the advancing force. They held up the army for three days till the last bullet they had on their person was fired. One of them was killed and the other two were severely wounded.

On the third day, the army advanced towards Wad, where a united force of the Baluch tribesmen confronted it. Finding the situation critical, the Commander of the Pakistan Army withdrew the orders regarding surrender of arms in his attempt to come to an understanding with Baluch leaders.

The tribal people, and particularly the people of Jhalawan, were in painful agony for several reasons: my arrest for no fault of mine; firing on the mosque; and insult to the Baluch flag. In addition to these, the behaviour of the army trying to cow down the tribal populace with ruthless tyranny further enraged them; and they stood up like one man to resist it. In the meantime, my wife and children were exiled from Kalat to Chowa Saidan Shah in the Punjab on the pretext that 'she was helping rebels with money and material'. This news never reached me in the prison.

The Revolt of Nawab Nauroz Khan

The tribal Chief of Jhalawan, Nawab Nauroz Khan, along with his comrades retired to the interior of the Mir Ghat Mountains. The 90-year old Nawab possessed a rock-like determination. Before leaving his village, he sent a Memorandum to the military Commander, stating that so long as the Khan-e-Azam was not brought back to Kalat with due honour and respect, he and the enraged tribal people under his influence would not spare themselves from any sacrifice, and there would be no end to it. The army accepted the challenge.

The Nawab's house was bombarded and razed to the ground; his property was confiscated; yet he did not budge an inch and went on fighting along with his two sons and followers. The army operation totally failed, as the army men found the terrain intractable, and these guerillas a 'Suicide Squad'. Fearing defeat at the hands of the Baluches, the Martial Law authorities thought out a scheme of deceiving the Nawab Saheb under the ruse of a sacred oath on the Quran that he would be received as an honourable chief for peace negotiations, and that all the demands of the Baluches would be considered thereafter.

This guarantee on the sacred Quran was more than sufficient for a staunch Muslim such as he was. The Nawab accepted the offer and climbed down the mountain to meet the military officers for discussions. The military officers immediately put him and his companions under heavy guards and removed him to the 'Quli Camp' of Quetta!

The Quli Camp of Quetta had earned the notoriety of Nazi concentration camps. It was essentially meant for political prisoners; but the inmates were subjected to by

far the worse treatment which even the habitual criminals and murderers of the lowest class did not deserve. The prisoners were not allowed to sleep for a moment. They were kept awake day and night. Hanging upside down; and hair-splitting or making them lie down on ice slabs; and hair-shocks and various other novel methods, were applied in order to extract from them the false and forced statements like 'the Khan of Kalat was preparing for revolt', and that he was 'unfaithful to Pakistan and receiving foreign aid from outside the country'. All types of concocted stories were made to suit their purpose of impeaching me.

I am proud of all those who were made to suffer inhuman atrocities but did not flinch for a moment from the path of righteousness. In fact, every Pakistani ought to be proud of them, for with their suffering and bloodshed, they have proved that toleration of dictatorship—civil or military—is not in the salts of Muslims who believe in the Quranic code of "discussions and consultations" in matters of State. Their suffering was humanly intolerable. Several of them died, and many others were mentally and bodily paralysed and either became blind, dumb or were rendered impotent.

The total inmates of the camp numbering 1,200 comprised of Nawabs, dignitaries, Sardars, businessmen, labourers and farmers and people from all classes, highest to the lowest. Of these I wish particularly to mention the names of some of my comrades: Mir Nichari, Mir Wali Mohammad Zarakzai, Mir Ghulam Rasul Nichari and Subzal Khan Zehri, who were all hanged in the jails of Hyderabad and Sukkur (may God give them peace in their eternal abode).

As per the last wish of the martyrs, their bodies were taken to Kalat for burial in the graveyard of Kalat Nasiri,

and the last rites of these martyrs were performed in grim solemnity with tearful eyes and recitations of *Fateha* (special prayers).

Once again the forces of oppression and tyranny were let loose for the simple reason of holding the bodies of the martyrs in great respect and giving them a public burial as heroes. Thousands of people were again arrested and put into prisons. Nawab Nauroz Khan, his sons and friends were sentenced to death; but in view of the Nawab's old age, his sentence was commuted to one of life imprisonment. He died in jail after a few years. Mir Jalal Khan Zarakzai, Mir Mohammad Umer Zahri, Mir Lal Khan Zahri, Mir Mahand Khan and Mir Dil Murad Khan got life imprisonments. They spent seven years in jail. The bureaucrats of the time regarded these diabolic dispensations as 'achievements' in their service careers!

During the days of my imprisonment, the tribal people of Kalat had to undergo unbearable hardships and sufferings. No distinction was made between high or low, a Nawab, Sardar or a shepherd. For one and all life was miserable and agonizing. The endurance of the people reached its saturation point; their patience could not last any longer; and this suppression eventually resulted in more upheavals and protests.

The people, however, remained undaunted and courted arrests. In the days that followed, all the notables and leaders of Baluchistan were put behind the bars. Oppression and tyranny reigned supreme. The people of Baluchistan forgot the barbarism of the time of the British in comparison to their own times.

The World Learns the Truth

When ultimately the general elections for the National and Provincial Assemblies in West Pakistan were held under

'Basic Democracy' in 1961, the people of Baluchistan voted overwhelmingly in favour of the candidates who had supported their cause and suffered with them after my arrest. These men were elected, and I was informed by wire of their successes.

The speeches of the Baluch members in the West Pakistan Assemblies, describing the miserable plight of the people in Baluchistan perpetrated under the dictatorship of Ayub Khan, were tape-recorded by the foreign envoys and representatives of the press; and thus the real position in Baluchistan eventually came to be known all over the world.

Ayub Khan had not the slightest idea that the Baluch leaders could thus revile his claim that he had brought the revolution in Pakistan "without shedding a single drop of blood", and that it was a 'Blessing of God'.

If mass murders were a "blessing," Hitler must indeed have been the "most blessed man" in modern times!

President Ayub Khan accompanied by the Governor, Amir Mohammad Khan, subsequently visited Quetta in August, 1962, and personally inspected the military measures on different fronts and ordered further tightening.

On the same day, the Baluch leaders called a public meeting which was attended by the political leaders of Baluchistan, the Punjab and Sind. In this meeting, the Baluch leaders warned the Government that if it did not desist from following the path of oppression, the responsibility for the consequences would not be theirs. This infuriated Ayub Khan all the more; and in the public meeting held under heavy military guard, his temper was raised to such an extent that he did not hesitate to warn the Baluches against "total extinction", if they did not mend their ways and be cowed down. Tradition

tionally, the Baluches are wont to accept challenges; and this was not an exception for them. On the next day, another public meeting was called by the leaders, in which it was declared that the Baluches would ring the death-knell of dictatorship, and would even resort to arms if it was found necessary for their purpose.

Obviously, President Ayub Khan could not remain silent. The leaders and the followers were arrested from every nook and corner of Baluchistan, as was done previously in 1958. About 200 Baluch leaders were taken in custody from Quetta, Karachi and other places. They were charged in the courts for "rebellion", and were put in jails at Quetta, Machh, Bolan, Sind and the Punjab.

Despite the fact that the Government machinery was in full swing continuously for four years to crush the Baluches, and cow them down once for all, the Baluches remained undaunted, and refused to relent. The Government, therefore, had to give in when they saw the futility of further harassment and hostility. Hence there came a change in their attitude. I was released from the jail after four years of confinement on 6th November, 1962. All my previous titles were restored, including my position as the Khan-e-Azam of Kalat; and thereafter efforts were made to come to some understanding with the people.

The news of my release sent a wave of joy and rejoicing throughout Baluchistan. When I reached Quetta, people came out to meet me in thousands. They were virtually mad with joy.

I must pay my tribute to Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali (may God grant eternal peace to his soul) who during the period of my imprisonment supported my cause fearlessly, and stood

up with me politically undaunted. He was a symbol of pride and the best of the characteristics of Baluches. He was the happiest man on the day of my release.

The Comicality of My Arrest

What was the reason of my arrest? Really speaking, my position was that of an ally of Pakistan according to the Standstill Agreement of 4th August, 1947, arrived at between the Government of Pakistan and the Baluch State of Kalat. It was revealed to me later on that the drama of my arrest was staged simply because President Sikander Mirza wanted to put the country under Martial Law in order to keep himself in power by avoiding the general elections. Hence, Baluchistan was chosen as the starting point of the nefarious action which was designed to be applied to the whole of Pakistan later.

It will be recalled that it was Sikander Mirza who had sent me to Europe to meet Lord Macnair for legal advice; and again, with his advice I put the report of Lord Macnair before the Baluches for consultation on the subject of Kalat's absorption in One Unit. It was, therefore, beyond one's comprehension why the Baluches were made to suffer such an insane tragedy. On 7th October, 1958, Martial Law was imposed on Pakistan, which continued till 1962, giving way to another form of dictatorship which weakened the roots of Pakistan; and all because Sikander Mirza and his successor wanted to remain glued to the Presidential chair.

Almost 120 million people of Pakistan were penalized to keep Mirza in the Chair; but alas! General Ayub Khan entered the political arena, chasing away Sikander Mirza from the country. He was not destined to live long, for he died in exile shortly afterwards.

The responsibility for these foolish and insane policies lay on the shoulders of the champions of Fascism in its nudity. These people who were at the helm of the administrative machinery were quite ignorant of the history of the Baluches, their struggles and sacrifices in the cause of the homeland to gain freedom from the shackles of the British. These officers were in fact usurpers, having installed themselves as the heads of the State without the least contribution on their part towards the establishment of Pakistan. Real opportunists, as they were, their systems had no legitimacy, sentimental or instrumental.

It was an irony of fate that the people who were always in the forefront in the freedom movement of Pakistan and had suffered heavily for its cause, should have been selected as targets for victimization. In this connection, I would specially mention the tribes of Zehri, Mengal and Jhalawan—the martyrs of Kalat-e-Baluch—who were dubbed as 'rebels.'

I was the first target of this fascism and dictatorship. All my rights and privileges were confiscated. The names of the educational institutions at Mastung and Kalat, which were named after me, my son and daughter, were changed to 'Government Schools'. The urban area of Kalat which was considered as my personal property, and my personal staff located officially there, were all confiscated without giving me any remuneration or rent for the same. The Royal Garden at Mastung was also taken over.

I was entitled to twenty-one guns salute as the ruler of *Baluch-e-Kalat*, and enjoyed a special privilege of importing goods worth Rs. 3 million. These Royal privileges were continuously subjected to reduction—if I may say so—as 'recognition' of my selfless sacrifices for Pakistan!

*Sold Baluch state for
Royal privileges.*

There will be no end to the troubles of States, or indeed, my dear Glaucon, of humanity itself, till philosophers become kings or rulers in this world; or till those we now call kings and rulers really and truly become philosophers.

Plato: *Republic*

Chapter 12

The Break-up of One Unit

IT is not intended here to relate the drama of how General Ayub Khan—now Field Marshal—assumed the reins of the Presidentship of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in October 1958, and the frivolous 'Basic Democracy' system he subsequently introduced in June 1962. Much has been written about this 'Constitution' which this Field Marshal promulgated on 1st March 1962. Suffice it to say that it conformed neither to the Parliamentary nor to the Presidential forms. It was a hotch-potch of several novelties of experimental nature—something that was neither in tune with the mood of the masses nor in consonance with the concepts of Islamic ideology, which was the basis on which the Quaid-e-Azam had erected the structure of Pakistan. Under this adulterated 'Constitution', there reposed with the President a wide range of executive powers, in the exercise of which there were no restraints whatsoever.

It was this unlimited quantum of authority that eventually contributed substantially to his removal in 1969. By 1968, Ayub Khan's regime was a picture of complete social alienation from the core values of the Muslim

nation of Pakistan; and with the freedom of speech and power of the press effectively curbed by anti-people measures like the amended Security of Pakistan Act, 1959, and Press and Publications Ordinance, 1960, it became evident that to all intents Ayub Khan meant to stick to Presidentship for life time. Political communication between the masses and the Opposition was thus strangled; and there was no proper means of expression of public views and feelings, except through the technique of oral communication in the form of giving currency to and circulation of biting sarcasms through appropriately invented jokes. One such joke was:

"Hey Mr . . . Have you heard of the 'Islamic Summit' called by Allah in Paradise?"

"Really! . . ."

"Yes."

"What happened?"

"You see; Allah had assembled the Heads of all Muslim States in Heaven. As the proceedings were about to commence, each of the Heads was introduced to Allah, who stood up to greet them one by one. But when it was Ayub's turn for being presented, the Almighty remained seated. Noticing this, Angel Gabriel—who was also present at the session—protested to Allah, saying that Ayub was the Head of the largest Muslim State on earth, and as such, he too ought to have been shown the same courtesy which others received. Hearing this, Allah replied:

"I know that. But, had I left my seat, Ayub would have pushed me away and sat down in it himself!"

Another joke concerning curbs on freedom of expression ran as:

"Do you know of the story of the Indian and Pakistani dogs who crossed each other on the Wagah border?"

"Dogs? Now, that's really interesting. Please tell me all about this."

"Listen: an Indian dog was crossing into Pakistan; and a Pakistani dog was crossing over to India. Surprised at the direction the Pakistani co-specie was going, the Indian dog asked:

"Where the hell are you nosing your way to?"

"To India, of course," replied the Pakistani dog.

"Aren't you an idiot? Look at my body. See, how starved I am. And look at yourself. How healthy you are."

"True," replied the Pakistani dog, "but I am not going to India to eat. I am going there in order to have a free and hearty bark!"

However, to give the Devil his due, it must be said that the war against India was perhaps the only 'fair performance' that can be associated with the regime from 1958 to 1969. Apart from this performance—which, no doubt, must chiefly be credited to the Armed Forces, including the Baluch elements, and the high morale of the nation in general—there was trouble fermenting beneath the cosmetic complexion of what was much officially publicized as the "Great Decade". The student and the labour communities were in violent unrest. Freedom of the press was heavily curbed. Nepotism, favouritism, and generous grants of Import Licences

and other money-minting industrial and commercial sanctions in favour of relatives and friends became a regular business of the administrative set-up. Industrial unrest started gaining momentum in the wake of indiscriminate arrests of Labour Union leaders. Firings on students in colleges and schools became a commonplace news item. *Gheraos* of factories and banks assumed fantastic proportions. Industrial productivity started coming down almost to a standstill. In short, the administrative machinery was grinding down to a halt as a prelude to complete chaos and anarchy.

It was then that Mr. Bhutto—Ayub's earstwhile right-hand man in Foreign Affairs—who, by capturing the admiration and support of the students and labourers in particular, and the masses in general by undergoing jail tortures, came out in the open with his dynamic socialist programme under the banner of the Pakistan Peoples Party; and with his eloquent entry into the political arena, the stage was ultimately set for the final act.

And this 'Act' came as an anti-climax on 25th March, 1969, when President Ayub Khan had no choice but to announce his resignation through Radio Pakistan.

Thus, Martial Law was once again imposed at 7.15 P.M. the same evening; and once again the nation witnessed *Jawans* and army personnel in battle dress, patrolling the streets and corners as the sole keepers of law and order in the country.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Yahya Khan, who was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator, assumed Presidentship on March, 31. At his first press conference since assuming office, he gave an assurance that

elections to the Constituent Assembly would be held on the basis of direct adult franchise. Another outstanding step taken by him was the dissolution of the One Unit structure in West Pakistan, and revival of the four former provinces of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier. Under the Order, Bahawalpur went to the Punjab; Karachi to Sind; and Lasbela to Baluchistan, each province being under a military Governor.

Conference of State Rulers

Soon after the announcement of the dissolution of One Unit, a conference of the heads of the States was held under my Presidentship on 3rd January, 1970. Some resolutions were passed. I wrote a letter to the President of Pakistan on January 27, 1970, drawing his attention to some of the new problems in the light of which certain demands were put forth for the consideration of the Government. The copy of the letter and the demands that were put forth is as under:

Aiwan-i-Baluch,
Gizri Road,
Karachi,
27th January, 1970.

May it please Your Excellency,

May I through the medium of this representation offer on behalf of the members of the Council of Rulers of the former Baluchistan States Union and their respective people the heart-felt congratulations for the bold decision made by Your Excellency in breaking the establishment of West Pakistan; and by doing so, you have won their hearts and gratitude; and I say that not only they but their posterity will be grateful

to your goodself and always pray for your long life and prosperity, as Your Excellency with the one stroke of pen has undone the mischief of One Unit which had deprived us of our home and hearth.

May I also invite your kind attention to the factual aspect of the One Unit and its consequent incorporation in the West Pakistan?

I, in the capacity of the President of the Council of Rulers of the Baluchistan States Union, made an agreement on 1st day of January, 1955, with the then Governor-General of Pakistan for the secession of the territories of Baluchistan States Union including the leased areas of Kalat, namely: Niabat, Quetta, Nasirabad, Nushki and Bolan Pass for its merger into the proposed Unit of West Pakistan; and thereafter by virtue of Section 2 (i) (III) of the Establishment of West Pakistan Act, 1955, the territory of the Baluchistan States Union and leased areas were incorporated into the province of West Pakistan with effect from 14-10-1955.

Now with the disintegration of One Unit, the Baluchistan States Union gets revised and the merger agreement dated 1-1-1955 is automatically abrogated and becomes ineffective, and the original order is once again restored.

The members of the Council of Rulers and the people of Kalat, Makran, Lasbela and Kharan have the full determination to maintain the Baluchistan States Union and their Baluchi leased areas as a separate administrative unit, and do not want to be forced to be the part of the rest of the Quetta Division with which they do not desire to be merged.

Your Excellency is well aware of the feelings of Baluches which have to some extent been cleared during the past two decades. They have a history nearly 500 years old, according to which they had not believed Baluchistan only as a State but also as an institution of Baluchi culture and ideology. In order to pursue that ideology they fought against the British side by side with other Muslims in the struggle for Pakistan.

I, therefore, humbly request that Your Excellency will respect the sentiments of the Baluches and make them a separate administrative Unit according to the wishes of Baluches in full democratic manner, and thereby earn their gratitude.

I also submit for the kind perusal of Your Excellency the resolution adopted by the Council of the Rulers in their joint sitting held at Karachi on 13-1-70; and in obedience to their desire, I am making the above representation for the restoration of Baluchistan States Union, including the leased areas of Kalat.

Yours

His Highness Baiglar Baigi
The Khan of Kalat

**Resolution passed by the Members
of the Council of the Rulers at
Karachi on 13-1-1970.**

The Council of Rulers of the Baluchistan States Union convened a meeting on 13-1-1970 under the Presidentship of Khan-e-Azam, and it was resolved as under:

INSIDE BALUCHISTAN

1. That we, the Council of the Rulers, are deeply grateful to His Excellency General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan on his decision to dissolve One Unit and restore the original order which was immediately before the establishment of West Pakistan. We once again welcome the decision not only from us but also from our respective tribal peoples.
2. That against the wishes of the Council of the Rulers and their respective people, One Unit was made by cruelty and illegal force. That was the reason that it was not a success.
3. That during these 15 years of terror, Baluchistan had been treated very savagely and cruelly, the parallel of which is nowhere in the history of Baluches. Right from Khan-e-Azam, Nawabs, Sardars, dignitaries, and common men were put in distress and hardships. The doors of the jails were made open to them and hundreds of them were tortured. It is for the first time that the Baluches were hanged to death, and millions worth of the life and property were destroyed. They had lived with humiliation and disgrace at the risk of life and property and had endured great deal of hardships, with the result that Baluches are now leading a distressed life as before. Before the establishment of One Unit we were backward, but did not live a disgraceful life. We have endured this type of life in the name of Islam and Pakistan. But thanks to Almighty God that under your Presidentship One Unit has been liquidated; and now we want that the Baluchistan States Union be restored and our

BREAK-UP OF ONE UNIT

respective territories, including leased areas, be integrated in it and a chance be provided to us so that with common aim and object, we try to make our destiny in a democratic manner.

Formula for Baluchistan States Union's place in future constitutional arrangements.

1. Former States of Baluchistan States Union and the leased areas of Kalat should be integrated into a Union to be called the Baluchistan States Union.
2. The Union should have a Legislative Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise.
3. Khan-e-Azam of the former Baluchistan States Union should be the constitutional Head of this Union also.
4. The Council of Ministers of this Union should be selected from among the elected members of the Assembly.
5. Government should provide more resources for development of the area so that its people be brought at par with those in the rest of Pakistan.
6. Guarantee to the Rulers of the Baluchistan States Union.
7. The will of the Marri and Bugti tribal people should be determined as to whether they wish to join their Baluch brothers of Baluchistan States Union and leased areas, or not.

8. And also the will of the Pathans of Baluchistan. In case they decided in favour of joining the Baluches, they should have equal rights with Baluches. The domiciled residents as well as other minorities will have equal opportunities in the Baluchistan States Union. //

The essence of the demands and the formulae submitted to General Yahya was that the four-hundred-year old Khandom of the Baluches should be left intact, and also that the ancient tribal traditions be not interfered with, so that the Baluch values, their morals, and their peculiar characteristics and national unity should flourish without any hindrance. It was also suggested that about one hundred members be elected for the House of Representatives from all over Baluchistan, including the regions of Marri and Bugti and the parts of Baluchistan which were handed over to the British for administration. Among these elected members, ten Ministers and ten Deputy Ministers should be selected. These Ministers should represent all sections of the population. The Khan-e-Azam's position be acknowledged as that of a national leader in the Constitution.

The Baluches were hundred per cent in favour of the proposition. But fate changed without expectation; and President Yahya Khan, like a steam roller, moved fast towards an unknown destiny.

The general elections held in Pakistan in December 1970 were followed by an extremely tense political situation which eventually led President Yahya Khan on March 1 to postpone the opening of the Pakistan National Assembly scheduled to convene in Dacca on March 3 for an indefinite period to enable the political leaders to reach a settlement on

the question of framing a Constitution for the country. Although the President subsequently announced on March 6 that the inaugural session of the Assembly would take place on March 25, total disagreement between the two major political parties—the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) led by Mr. Bhutto—led to further postponement on March 22. Throughout the negotiations, Sheikh Mujib and his Awami League had insisted on far-reaching autonomy for East Pakistan, involving virtually complete independence of the Centre in numerous spheres under any future Constitution—a demand strongly opposed by Mr. Bhutto and the Pakistan Peoples Party. Eventually, when the Round Table talks in Dacca between President Yahya Khan, Sheikh Mujib and Mr. Bhutto had again ended in a complete deadlock, civil war erupted in East Pakistan; and Sheikh Mujib and the Awami League proclaimed the province an 'independent republic' under the name of 'Bangla Desh.'

With the outbreak of civil war, President Yahya immediately outlawed the Awami League; accused Shaikh Mujibur Rahman of treason; and banned political activity throughout Pakistan; and an indefinite curfew was imposed in the Eastern wing. After a heavy fighting in many areas between Pakistan Armed Forces and the forces at the disposal of the secessionists, the civil war virtually ended by April 19 with the Pakistan forces in full control of all important centres in the province. But, soon after this, India attacked Pakistan.

The war between Pakistan and India ended with the occupation of East Pakistan by Bengali insurgents in collaboration with Indian Army—a national calamity of which there is no precedent. Pakistan Forces, blockaded strategically in the Eastern wing, had, per force, to surrender before their

traditional adversary—India; and lost a province that accounted for almost a seventh of its territory and afforded a homeland to more than half the number of its people.

This failure of the marooned Pakistan Forces was also the personal failure of President Yahya Khan, who had supplanted Mohammad Ayub Khan in March 1969, and had vainly attempted during the next two years to devise a constitutional arrangement that could preserve the unity of the country, while accommodating some part of the demands in East Pakistan for a share of regional autonomy stopping just short of complete independence.

Enter Bhutto

Following the debacle of Pakistan Army on the Eastern front, and cease-fire in the west, military leaders in West Pakistan were apparently determined upon the removal of President Yahya Khan from office. Consequently, he was made to resign on December, 20, 1971; and was succeeded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the Socialist-oriented Pakistan Peoples Party.

With a political philosophy and personal charisma which few men possess today, Mr. Bhutto lost no time in affirming his own authority; setting up a civilian administration; loosening many of the restrictions imposed by the Yahya Khan regime; preparing an investigation of the causes of the debacle; and initiating suitable measures to curb the economic monopoly of the "22 families" who had traditionally played a conspicuous role in Pakistan's economic set-up.

Mr. Bhutto was quick in getting about his task. Young, energetic and dynamic, he had worked himself into a position

from where he could feel the public pulse. He had captured the imagination of the bulk of the masses through his forceful public speeches and his programme of socialistic reforms. He made his entry into the high office of Presidentship when the economic structure of Pakistan stood shattered. Half the country had been lost. The entire nation lay in a state of shock—betrayed and humiliated. To some minds, the very existence of what remained as 'West Pakistan' on the map was doubtful.

Under such disheartening and an almost a hopeless situation, it is indeed a great achievement that Mr. Bhutto braved out with remarkable statesmanship the throes of the re-birth of a nation. The subsequent purging of the administrative and executive machinery; his restoration of confidence and morale among the disillusioned masses; his socio-political, educational and agricultural reforms on socialistic patterns will indeed go down in history as a "Great Re-awakening".

In 26 years of its precarious existence, during which the masses were virtually treated as the dumb driven cattle, the country had only heard of and to some extent experienced painfully no less than three Constitutions; but none of these suited the inherent needs of the country and the mood of the people. The credit of giving a workable and worthy Constitution to the nation goes to this young revolutionary politician.

But in respect of Baluchistan, there still remains a lot to be done. It can be rightly said that Mr. Bhutto is an expert in Political Science. It is also true that he is well aware of the ethno-historical background of Baluch; their peculiar tribal traits and aspirations; their potentials and weaknesses; and their consciousness of the wrongs done to them in the

past. As such, one should not have any misgivings about the way he tackles the situation in this part of the country, the history of which—particularly the British part of it—must serve as a guide for all sane-minded statesmen. Fortunately, the Baluches today are more politically conscious and democratizable than they were during the time of Charles Napier, whose military successes were by no means enduring. It would certainly not be futile to expect that Mr. Bhutto—the politician—with his knowledge of history and winsome personal qualities will succeed where Generals with their cannons and bullets had failed.

The best amongst mankind is he from whom people are benefited the most.

The Holy Prophet

Epilogue

THIS book, which is more of an autobiography than a chronological account of historical events, was conceived with a dual purpose—one, apprising my brethren, the Baluches, of the true facts of past and contemporary history relating to Kalat; and two, emphasizing upon the Pakistani nation—of which the Baluches like all the rest are an integral segment—the urgent need to draw lessons from history, and embark upon a future that befits the glorious traditions of Islam and its sublime spiritual and temporal values.

As far as I am concerned, I am proud to be able to say that not a single individual belonging to my community ever indulged in any conspiracy against the interests of Pakistan, which is as much our land as of all the rest who have the honour of being its inhabitants. None the less, it is a historical fact that Baluches are a single communal unit dispersed and settled in neighbouring countries like Iran and Afghanistan in substantial numbers besides Pakistan; and according to a survey, their total population in the world was expected to have reached 30 million by the end of 1973. However, despite this scattered nature of settlements, their

ethnic identity has remained unaffected; and so have their traditions and values of life, love, chivalry, sincerity and patriotism survived despite geographic factors.

Looking back over the history of the rule of my dynasty, this is what I have to say in this book which, as indicated on the inside cover, is dedicated to them:

God has bestowed upon man a complete code of life in the shape of Islam. Soon after man was created, he was initiated into the secrets of the universe. God sent His Prophets from time to time and revealed the Holy Books, and finally the Quran for the practical guidance of man so that he could shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to him as the 'Vicegerent of God on Earth'.

Endowed with the unique gifts of God—knowledge, wisdom and intelligence—man has practically changed the surface of the world with the help of modern technology. Barren lands in wilderness, unknown for thousands of years, have been discovered and changed into fertile lands with dense population provided with all the amenities of life. Not only this, man has been able to reach the Moon even; and is now planning to make it inhabitable. The day is not far off when other planets, too, will not be beyond the reach of man.

The latest inventions in the field of transport equipped with the most modern scientific appliances have virtually conquered distance. Time is not far off when the whole world will be just like a big city with various nationalities, each with a colour, creed, language and culture of their own.

Future of Man

Man has been progressively advancing in the domain of science. He has already stamped his foot on the surface of the

moon, and the conquest of other planets is also being contemplated.

Science, however, is both constructive as well as dangerous. It can create havoc within no time. Centuries-old civilizations and cultures can be wiped off their existence by a slight press of a switch or a button. The advanced countries of the world with a mad desire to prove their superiority over others, are going flat out for producing evernew destructive weapons. May God preserve! The slightest mistake on the part of nuclear scientists can bring about the extinction of the entire human race.

Today, man stands on crossroads: one leads to happiness and prosperity; and the other to doom and destruction. People who follow the right path will attain happiness and salvation; but those who tread the path of selfishness and personal animosities will certainly be doomed.

Happiness in this world and salvation in the life hereafter for mankind rests in the adoption of the complete code of life as brought by the Holy Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) in the form of the Quran; and it is meant for all times.

What man needs today is peace and security; and this can be found only through the Islamic way of life, the need for which is all the more necessary today than ever before.

The Earliest Period of Islam

The complete code of life based on Quran and the teachings of Mohammad (peace be upon him) was strictly adhered to in spirit and letter in the early period of Islam which ended with Ali, the fourth Caliph.

After Ali, degeneration set in. Selfish ends and false notions of tribal and family feuds replaced Islamic democracy. The Caliphate became hereditary monarchy. These monarchs called themselves by the sacred name of 'Caliph', but in fact they were so only in name. Their reigns are full of tyrannies, oppressions and malpractices. They did not hesitate to shed blood and usurp the rights of their Muslim brethren; and got sanctions for the same from the corrupt *Ulema* (religious authorities) either through bribery or by sheer force.

This ultimately resulted in the break-up of Muslim solidarity. The name-sake Caliphate fell to pieces. Noticing this disintegration, the Europeans united collectively in the name of Christianity; and were ultimately successful in ousting Islam from European countries.

The Moghul Empire in the subcontinent of India suffered the same fate at the hands of the British. The Muslims of India were totally ruined in all walks of life—socially, politically and morally. After the first war of liberation in 1857, which the British termed as 'Mutiny', leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and others tried to improve conditions and establish a Muslim University. This seat of learning consequently played a great part in uplifting the Muslims.

Indian Muslims once again united under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah; and thus Pakistan, the biggest Muslim State, came into existence in 1947. This is an opportunity provided by God Almighty in His mercy to the Muslims of India to serve humanity and establish law and order as per His dictates in the Quran.

We are Pakistanis

We the Baluches equally regard Pakistan as our own creation. We have given great sacrifices for the cause of

Pakistan; and we are fully aware of the fact that our rights are safe in a happy and strong Pakistan.

It is, however, painful to say that despite our services and sacrifices in the establishment of Pakistan, we the Baluches, were misunderstood and looked upon with suspicion. We were put to hard tests, but our sincerity came out with flying colours. Not a single Baluch left Pakistan, nor went over to the enemies of Pakistan.

When India declared war on Pakistan for the second time, we the Baluches threw ourselves heart and soul in the war against India, and fought shoulder to shoulder with our Pakistani brethren.

The emergence of Pakistan was hailed by Muslims all over the world. It was called by them as the 'Fort of Islam'; but we disappointed them inasmuch as that we did not prove equal to the occasion. Our un-Islamic behaviour ultimately weakened this biggest Muslim State. Corruption, exploitation and selfish ends took the place of a patriotic outlook. Things reached such a state that East Pakistan was eventually lost due to the political machinations of India, aided by a big power.

The eastern break-up of Pakistan must not discourage us in any way. If we take lesson from this, and set our house right, we shall certainly be able to forge unity and understanding between our Muslim brethren beyond the borders, and in the Arab States, and blend them into one Islamic Block. In this respect, the example of R.C.D.; the unity of Egypt, Libya and Syria as also the establishment of Islamic Secretariat can be cited. The collaboration of these States in regional spheres has been a valuable contribution in strengthening their

respective economies by increasing trade and industry among them. One can visualize an 'Islamic Block' comprising of all the Muslim States, whether in the east or in the west. I can foresee the member-States of this 'Block' coming closer together economically, socially and politically, as a source of inspiration to all other nations in the world.

Islamic Social Order and Pakistan

In 1971, when I met Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Kalat (he was not then the President of Pakistan), I told him that if the idea of "Islamic Social Order" is properly handled and put into practice, it would prove most successful, and the world of Islam would be greatly benefited by it. What I told was based on my own experience. As stated in the earlier pages of this book, I had introduced Islamic social order in Kalat in 1936, which remained in force upto 1948 with great success. Had the past Pakistan Governments not discontinued the system, it can rightly be said that Baluchistan could have made greater progress than it has today in comparison to other regions. It is a pity that we lost almost one-quarter of a century in mutual hatreds and suspicions.

I am fully confident that Islamic social order can be introduced in Pakistan simultaneously with the modern concepts of Statecraft. The present Prime Minister, Mr. Bhutto, has been busy in the reconstruction and restoration of the prestige of Pakistan which had suffered heavily in the last war. It is our national duty to help and cooperate with him in his efforts to enable him to re-build the country and lead the nation to glorious heights.

We must draw a lesson from the loss of East Pakistan; and must, therefore, organize ourselves anew to give Pakistan stability. To my mind, this can be done in three ways:

EPILOGUE

1. We should create mutual confidence, and bring about the fullest cooperation between the Centre and the provinces. The present trends of suspicion and distrust must cease on all sides.
2. The economic as well as moral condition of our people can be improved by introducing socialist economy within the framework of Islam. The phenomenal progress of China, where 750 million people have been uplifted socially, morally and economically within a quarter of a century, must inspire us in this direction.
3. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Prime Minister Chou En-Lai of the Peoples Republic of China, will live for ever in the hearts of the Chinese for their unparalleled service to their people. China, in fact, has emerged as the third powerful nation of the world. Asian countries can very well take a lesson and emulate them with advantage. We in Pakistan regard the Chinese people as our most sincere friends. Pakistan can benefit by China's experience in the uplift of her people, particularly so the Baluches who are comparatively backward as compared to the people of other provinces.

The Baluches

The position of the Baluch community is singularly of much importance. Besides Pakistan, they are settled in groups in the neighbouring countries; and I am proud to say that not a single individual belonging to my community ever indulged in any conspiracy or committed any offence against the interests of Pakistan. I ardently wish and pray to the Almighty that this patriotic quality of Baluch character

may ever remain unstained with them. I am personally taking great pains and proceeding with precaution to foster unity among the Baluch people; and I am confident that we shall *Insha Allah* succeed. Meanwhile, I would advise the Baluch community never to give any chance of complaint to the local administration.

TO THE BALUCHES

I have tried in this book to give a brief and outspoken account of my personal life as the Khan of Kalat and the political changes in the country. My purpose has been to enable you—my brethren—to know that I never hesitated to face any impediment which came in the way of your welfare and prosperity. This is what I seek to say to my Baluch brethren:

My whole life is dedicated to you, and indeed, to the entire Pakistani nation.

You are aware of the fact that my ancestors had to work hard to bring about a progressive outlook on life. I, too, have the same spirit of service to you—the Baluches—and fervently wish to see you as happy and prosperous as the people of any advanced country in the world, economically, socially and politically.

In the past, when I was your Ruler, I had to shoulder the burden of administrative responsibilities; and under duress, I could not for some time be with you. There are no artificial hurdles now. I am now completely at your disposal, to be always at your side as an elderly man to guide and help you as best as I can whenever called upon to do so.

The previous Governments purposely kept me aloof from you. My friends and visitors were watched, and all sorts of irrelevant enquiries were made against them; and they were harassed for nothing. This had pained me extremely. I had, therefore, virtually retired from taking active part in the affairs of Baluchistan. This, however, did not mean that I had lost interest in you. Let me assure you that you were always in my mind. Needless to say, I have deep love for the nation, the country and my community. I cannot express in words the joy, the happiness I feel whenever I am in your company, and partake of your simple food.

I wish to dedicate myself in solving your two pressing problems: first, to create unity among you and secondly, to improve your economic conditions and wipe out poverty and ignorance from your ranks without unnecessarily encroaching upon the sanctity of our healthy traditions and culture.

I do realize that for the last one century or so, the people of Baluchistan had been put to all types of oppression and hardships by alien rulers. I must, however, make it clear to you that the injustices and the mishandling of the affairs of the Baluches after the creation of Pakistan was the entire responsibility of the succeeding self-seeking bureaucrats who sprang up like mushrooms after the Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan. These bureaucrats were, of course, Pakistanis, but trained cleverly in their depraved art by their foreign masters. It was under them that national interests, including the affairs in Baluchistan, were badly handled to suit their own selfish ends.

CONCLUSION

I have placed all facts before you, my bretheren. My whole life, from childhood to old age, has passed amidst you and the mountainous beauty of the land. You all have seen me closely, both as your *Khan* as well as an ordinary Baluch. I have nothing to hide from you. I have all along worked in your interests without any selfish motives of my own; and will continue to do so, irrespective of what my personal position happens to be.

I, therefore, appeal to you to forge unity among yourselves and stand united as indomitable stalwarts of the Pakistani nation. This is the *only way* by which you will be able to secure your legitimate rights in the national life of the country. Your future generations will be grateful to you and pray for the peace of your souls if you leave behind you the noble traditions of unity, hard work and sacrifice for the nation as a whole.

We are a faithful people by nature. Those who did not wish well to us, and tried their utmost to discredit us, have themselves reached their goal of oblivion. It was of such ignoble persons that Scott rightly said:

"Doubly dying shall go down

To the vile dust from whence he sprung."

May God in His mercy help us and guide us to the right path in the service of Islam and Pakistan.
Ameen.

Inside
Baluchistan

PART TWO

(APPENDICES)

Note : Variant spellings of tribes, names and places in this Section have been purposely retained as per original documents. The language and grammar, too, remain unaltered in order to preserve their originality.

— Editor.

Appendix I

ARTICLES OF AN ENGAGEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND MEHRAB KHAN, THE CHIEF OF KALAT—1839.

WHEREAS a Treaty of lasting friendship has been concluded between the British Government and His Majesty Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, and Mehrab Khan, the Chief of Kalat, as well as his predecessors, has always paid homage to the Royal House of the Saddozais, therefore, with the advice and consent of the Shah, the undermentioned Articles have been agreed upon by Mehrab Khan and his descendants from generation to generation. As long as the Khan performs good service, the following Articles will be fulfilled and preserved:

ARTICLE 1

As Nasir Khan and his descendants, as well as his tribe and sons, held possession of the country of Kalat, Kachhi, Khorstan, Makran, Kej, Bela and the port of Soumiani in the time of the lamented Ahmed Shah Durani they will in future be masters of their country in the same manner.

ARTICLE 2

The English Government will never interfere between the Khan, his dependants, and subjects, particularly lend no

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assistance to Shah Nawaz Fateh Khan, and the descendants of the Mahabbatzai branch of the family, but always exert itself to put away evil from his house. In case of His Majesty the Shah's displeasure with the Khan of Kalat, the English Government will exert itself to the utmost to remove the same in a manner which may be agreeable to the Shah and according to the rights of the Khan.

ARTICLE 3

As long as the British army continues in the country of Khorstan, the British Government agrees to pay to Mehrab Khan the sum of one and a half lakh of Company's rupees from the date of this engagement by half-yearly instalments.

ARTICLE 4

In return for this sum the Khan, while he pays homage to the Shah and continues in friendship with the British nation, agrees to use his best endeavours to procure supplies, carriage, and guards to protect provisions and stores going and coming from Shikarpur by the route of Rozan, Dadar, the Pass of Bolan, through Shal to Kuchlak from one frontier to another.

ARTICLE 5

All provisions and carriage which may be obtained through the means of the Khan, the price of the same is to be paid without hesitation.

ARTICLE 6

As much as Mehrab shows his friendship to the British Government by service and fidelity to the Saddozai family, so much the friendship will be increased between him and the British Government; and on this he should have the fullest reliance and confidence.

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This agreement having been concluded, signed and sealed by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, Kt., Envoy on the part of the Right Hon'ble George, Lord Auckland, G.C.B., Governor-general of India and Mehrab Khan, of Kalat, on the part of himself, the same shall be duly ratified by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

Done at Kalat, the 28th day of March, A.D. 1839, corresponding with the 12th day of Muharram, A.H. 1255.

A. BURNES
Envoy to Kalat

Appendix II

TREATY ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AND MEER NUSSEER KHAN, CHIEF OF KHELAT—1841.

WHEREAS Meer Nusseer Khan, son of Mehrab Khan, deceased, having tendered his allegiance and submission, the British Government and His Majesty Shah Shuja-ool-moolk recognise him, the said Nusseer Khan, and his descendants as Chief of the principality of Khelati-Nusseer on the following terms:

ARTICLE 1

Meer Nusseer Khan acknowledges himself and his descendants the vassals of the King of Cabool, in like manner

as his ancestors were formerly the vassals of His Majesty's ancestors.

ARTICLE 2

Of the tracts of country resumed on the death of Meer Mehrab Khan, namely, Cutchee, Moostung, and Shawl, the two first will be restored to Meer Nusseer Khan and his descendants through the kindness of His Majesty Shah Shuja-ool-moolk.

ARTICLE 3

Should it be deemed necessary to station troops, whether belonging to the Honourable Company or Shah Shuja-ool-moolk, in any part of the territory of Khelat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable.

ARTICLE 4

Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, will always be guided by the advice of the British officer residing at his Durbar.

ARTICLE 5

The passage of merchants and others into Afghanistan from the river Indus on the one side, and from the sea-port of Soumeeanee on the other, shall be protected by Meer Nusseer Khan as far as practicable, nor will any aggression, be practised on such persons, or any undue exactions made beyond an equitable toll to be fixed by the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan.

ARTICLE 6

Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors, not to hold any political communication or enter

into any negotiations with foreign powers without the consent of the British Government and of His Majesty Shah Shuja-ool-moolk, and in all cases to act in subordinate co-operation with the governments of British India and of the Shah; but the usual amicable correspondence with neighbours to continue as heretofore.

ARTICLE 7

In case of an attack on Meer Nusseer Khan by an open enemy, or of any difference arising between him and any foreign power, the British Government will afford him assistance or good offices as it may judge to be necessary or proper for the maintenance of his rights.

ARTICLE 8

Meer Nusseer Khan will make due provision for the support of Shah Newaz Khan, either by pension to be paid through the British Government, on condition of that Chief residing within the British territory, or by grant of estates within Khelat possessions, as may hereafter be decided by the British Government.

Done at Khelat, this 6th day of October A.D. 1841, corresponding with the 20th Shaban A.H. 1257.

MEER NUSSEER KHAN

AUCKLAND

Ratified and signed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, at Fort William in Bengal, this 10th day of January 1842.

T. H. MADDOCK,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Appendix III

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND NUSSEER KHAN, CHIEF OF KHELAT, CONCLUDED ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BY MAJOR JOHN JACOB, C.B. IN VIRTUE OF FULL POWERS GRANTED BY THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, KT., ETC., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, AND BY MEER NUSSEER KHAN, CHIEF OF KHELAT—1854.

WHEREAS the course of events has made it expedient that a new agreement should be concluded between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, the following Articles have been agreed on between the said government and His Highness:

ARTICLE 1

The Treaty concluded by Major Outram between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, on the 6th October 1841, is hereby annulled.

ARTICLE 2

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, his heirs and successors.

ARTICLE 3

Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors, to oppose to the utmost all the enemies of the British Government; in all cases to act in subordinate co-operation

with that Government, and to enter into no negotiation with other States without its consent, the usual friendly correspondence with neighbours being continued as before.

ARTICLE 4

Should it be deemed necessary to station British troops in any part of the territory of Khelat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by the British authorities.

ARTICLE 5

Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors, to prevent all plundering or other outrage by his subjects within or near British territory; to protect the passage of merchants to and fro between the British dominions and Afghanistan, whether by way of Sindh or by the seaport of Soumeeanee, or other seaports of Mekran, and to permit no exactions to be made beyond an equitable duty to be fixed by the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, and the amount to be shown in the Schedule annexed to this Treaty.

ARTICLE 6

To aid Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, in the fulfilment of these obligations, and on condition of a faithful performance of them year by year, the British Government binds itself to pay to Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors an annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's Rupees.

ARTICLE 7

If during any year the conditions above mentioned shall not be faithfully performed by the said Meer Nusseer Khan,

his heirs and successors, then the annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's Rupees will not be paid by the British Government.

Done at Mustoong, this fourteenth day of May one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four.

MUSTOONG. JOHN JACOB, Major,
14th May 1854. *Political Superintendent and Commandant
on the frontier of Upper Sindh.*

Schedule showing amount of duty to be levied on merchandize passing through the dominions of the Khan of Khelat referred to in Article 5 of this Treaty.

On each camel-load, without respect to value, from the northern frontier to the sea, either to Kurrachee or other port, Company's Rupees 6.

On each camel, as above, from the northern frontier to Shikarpore, Company's Rupees 5.

The same duties to be levied on merchandize passing in the contrary direction from the sea, or from Sindh to the Khelat territory.

JOHN JACOB, Major,
*Political Superintendent and Commandant
on the frontier of Upper Sind.*

The foregoing Articles of Treaty having been concluded between the British Government and the Khan of Khelat, and signed and sealed by Major John Jacob, C.B., on the one part, and Meer Nusseer Khan on the other at Mustoong on the 14th May A.D. 1854, corresponding with 16th Shaban A.H. 1270, a copy of the same will be delivered to His High-

ness, duly ratified by the Governor-General in Council, within two months from this date.

DALHOUSIE
J. DORIN
J. LOW
J. P. GRANT
B. PEACOCK

Ratified by the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, Fort William, this 2nd day of June 1854.

G. F. EDMONSTONE,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Appendix IV

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND HIS HIGHNESS KHODADAD KHAN, KHAN OF KHELAT AND BELOOCHISTAN, FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH THROUGH SUCH PORTIONS OF THE DOMINIONS OF HIS HIGHNESS IN MEKRAN AS LIE BETWEEN THE WESTERN BOUNDARY OF THE PROVINCE UNDER THE FEUDATORY RULE OF THE JAM OF BEYLA AND THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF THE TERRITORY OF GWADAR—1863.

ARTICLE 1

That His Highness the Khan of Khelat shall afford protection to the line of telegraph and to the persons

employed in its construction and maintenance through the tract of the country lying between the western boundary of the province under the rule of the Jam of Beyla and the eastern boundary of the Gwadar territory.

ARTICLE 2

That the British Government shall be at liberty to erect stations in such parts of the said country as they may deem most convenient for telegraph purposes.

ARTICLE 3

That the material of the telegraph may be landed, free of duty, wherever the British Government may think most convenient on His Highness's coast.

ARTICLE 4

That the cost of material, labour, landing charges, housing, provisions, etc., shall be borne by the British Government, who will also make any arrangements they may consider most convenient regarding their own supplies, labour, etc. His Highness the Khan undertaking that no impediment shall be thrown in their way, but that, on the contrary, every protection and assistance shall be afforded on his part.

ARTICLE 5

That for the protection of the line and those employed upon it, the British Government will agree to pay the annual sum of Rupees five thousand (5,000), and His Highness the Khan of Khelat is not to be called upon to go to any further expense than the above sum.

ARTICLE 6

That His Highness the Khan shall give notice through the Political Agent to the British Government of the proportions of the sum above mentioned which he may wish to be paid to the various Chiefs to whom he will entrust the conservation of the line, it being understood that the whole sum paid by the British Government for the purpose will be expended amongst the Chiefs and people through whose country the line passes. On receipt of His Highness's wishes in this respect, the sums will be paid to the named parties through the Political Agent or other officer appointed by the British Government.

ARTICLE 7

That annual payment will commence from the date that the telegraph officers may report that 50 miles of the line have been erected, and that its conservation is complete for that distance.

ARTICLE 8

That any disagreement between the Telegraph officials and the subjects of His Highness the Khan of Khelat shall be referred to the Political Agent at Khelat if it cannot be satisfactorily settled on the spot by the Telegraph officers in communication with the Agent of His Highness.

ARTICLE 9

Continued obstruction or injury to the line may cause revocation of this agreement at any time on the part of the British Government.

M. GREEN, Major,
CAMP KUSHMORE: *Actg. Political Agent to the Court of*
The 20th Feb. 1863. His Highness the Khan of Khelat.

ADDITIONAL CLAUSE (10) OF A CONVENTION WITH HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KHELAT FOR THE PASSAGE OF THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH THROUGH HIS MEKRAN TERRITORY.

ARTICLE 10

That His Highness the Khan of Khelat, with the view of accelerating the erection of the Electric Telegraph, agrees that the English Government may subsidize and make their own arrangements with the tribes (his subjects) in Mekran.

It being understood that the above shall not include any cession of Khelat territory without his (the Khan's) consent, and that, should offices or buildings be erected, their sites shall always be considered as belonging to the Khelat Government.

On the part of the British Government.

JACOBABAD, UPPER SIND,
The 23rd March 1863.

M. GREEN, Major
Actg. Political Agent at Khelat.

KHODADAD KHAN
Ruler of Khelat.

Appendix V*

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE KHELAT STATE—1876.

WHEREAS it has become expedient to renew the Treaty of 1854, between the British Government and Nasseer Khan,

Khan of Khelat, and to supplement the same by certain additional provisions calculated to draw closer the bonds of friendship and amity between the two Governments, the following additional Articles are herewith agreed upon between the Right Honourable Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Baron Lytton of Knebworth, in the County of Hertford, and a Baronet of the United Kingdom, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and Grand Master of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, on behalf of the British Government on the one hand, and His Highness Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, on the other:*

ARTICLE 1

The Treaty concluded between the British Government and Meer Nasseer Khan, Khan of Khelat, on the 14th of May 1854, is hereby renewed and re-affirmed.

ARTICLE 2

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government and Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, his heirs, and successors.

ARTICLE 3

Whilst on his part, Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, binds himself, his heirs, successors, and Sirdars to observe faithfully the provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty of 1854, the British Government on its part engages to respect the independence of Khelat, and to aid the Khan, in case of need, in the maintenance of a just authority and the protection of his territories from external attack, by such means as the British Government may at the moment deem expedient.

*See also Appendices Nos. I and II.

ARTICLE 4

For the further consolidation of the friendship herewith renewed and re-affirmed between the two Governments, it is agreed on the one hand that British Agents with suitable escorts shall be duly accredited by the British Government to reside permanently at the Court of the Khan and elsewhere in His Highness's dominions, and on the other hand, that a suitable representative shall be duly accredited by His Highness to the Government of India.

ARTICLE 5

It is hereby agreed that should any dispute, calculated to disturb the peace of the country, arise hereafter between the Khan and the Sirdars of Khelat, the British Agent, at the Court of His Highness shall in the first place use his good offices with both parties to effect by friendly advice an amicable arrangement between them, failing which the Khan will, with the consent of the British Government, submit such dispute to its arbitration, and accept and faithfully execute its award.

ARTICLE 6

Whereas the Khan of Khelat has expressed a desire on the part of himself and his Sirdars for the presence in his country of a detachment of British troops, the British Government, in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of 1854, and in recognition of the intimate relations existing between the two countries, hereby assents to the request of His Highness, on condition that the troops shall be stationed in such positions as the British Government may deem expedient, and be withdrawn at the pleasure of that Government.

ARTICLE 7

It is also agreed that such lines of telegraph or railway as may be beneficial to the interests of the two Governments shall be from time to time constructed by the British Government in the territories of the Khan, provided that the conditions of such construction be a matter of previous arrangement between that Government and the Government of His Highness.

ARTICLE 8

There shall be entire freedom of trade between the State of Khelat and the territories of the British Government, subject to such conditions as the British Government may, at any time in concert with the Khan of Khelat, deem necessary for the protection of fiscal interests.

ARTICLE 9

To aid Meer Khodadad Khan, his heirs, and successors, in the efficient fulfilment of the obligations contracted by them under the Treaty of 1854, and the present supplementary engagement, the British Government hereby undertakes to pay to the said Khan, his heirs, and successors an annual sum of one lakh of rupees, so long as they shall faithfully adhere to the engagements heretofore and hereby contracted.

ARTICLE 10

The British Government further undertakes to contribute Rupees twenty-thousand five-hundred annually towards the establishment of posts and development of traffic along the trade routes in His Highness's territories, provided such

money is expended by the Khan in the manner approved of by the British Government.

Executed at Jacobabad, this eighth day of December, one-thousand eight-hundred and seventy-six Anno Domini.

LYTTON

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

SEAL OF KHAN OF KHEALT.

Appendix VI

TRANSLATION OF A MEMORANDUM DRAWN UP BY HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KHELAT REGARDING THE SETTLEMENT OF HIS QUARREL WITH HIS SIRDARS, AND PRESENTED BY HIM TO MAJOR R. SANDEMAN, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, ON SPECIAL DUTY, IN DURBAR, ON THE 6TH JUNE 1876.

Arrangements should be made by the British Government to compensate the Candahar merchants whose kafilas were plundered in the Mulla, Takari and Kazak Passes by the Jalawans, who, also realized transit dues from some of these kafilas. The

There is a correspondence with me regarding this, Government has agreed to pay at least a portion of this money under the agreement of 1872. R. Sandeman, Deputy Commissioner.

merchants are with me and are clamorous for a settlement.

2. In accordance with the written order of Sir William Merewether annexed* to this, I took possession of the province

of Lus Beyla, and incurred great expense in doing so. This country should be

made over to me or annexed to British India, or I should receive from the British the expenses incurred in the war against the Jam. If none of these proposals are adopted, then the next best thing to do is to release Jam Mir Khan, now in confinement in British territory; but this should be conditional on his ceasing to wage war on me and causing injury to my country. He should be required to render the same allegiance to my Government as he did to the Governments of former Khans of Khelat; and I on my part will engage not to encroach on his rights and privileges.

3. The Brahooee Sirdars should be required to expel from the country my ex-Wuzeer Atta Mahomed who treacherously escaped from Khelat notwithstanding my servant Nawab Mahomed Khan was security for him. The ex-Wuzeer is doing all he can to keep up disturbances throughout the length and breadth of the land. After a permanent peace has been arranged on the condition that the ex-Wuzeer leaves the Khelat State, I will allow his family (who are in Khelat) to go with him.

4. By the settlement come to in 1872 by Sir William Merewether it was decreed that the Sarawan Brahooees should pay compensation for the kafila they plundered in the Bolan Pass. This compensation they could not pay. I had to give Rs. 35,000 to the merchants. I had also to pay Rs. 55,000 to the merchants that were plundered by the Murrees. I had thus a total sum of Rs. 90,000 to pay merchants on account of kafilas plundered by the Brahooees. It was decreed that they should pay; but as they had not the means, I had to do so. I received, after the settlement, a lakh of rupees from the Government for my own use, but by this means I only

received Rs. 10,000. This was not what the British Government intended; I therefore desire that the money should be refunded to me.

5. The annual subsidy of Rs. 50,000 which I used to receive has now for three years ceased, but I do not feel I have committed any fault to have caused this. Formerly the Khelat Government used to levy transit fees at one rupee per maund. The British Government reduced this to 8 annas per maund, and the Rs. 50,000 was given as compensation.

6. My Commandant Shukur Khan and my Munshis Mulla Saleh Muhammad and Gul Muhammad were taken from me and put in prison by the British Government without their having committed any fault. I shall feel obliged by the British Government releasing them and allowing them to depart in peace.

7. I desire to appoint Nawab Muhammad Khan, who is a well-wisher of my Government, to attend on Major Sandeman as my agent.

8. I desire that the share of the transit fees to which the Brahooees are entitled by ancient usage shall be continued to them as decreed by Sir William Merewether.

9. Whatever terms of peace the British Government desire to give the Brahooees on the part of my Government that I will agree to. I will not violate terms. Let the past be forgotten. I will restore to the Sarawan and Jalawan Sirdars their ancestral lands; and should they at any future time violate the conditions of peace, before punishing them I will report what has occurred to the British Government through the Political Agent at Khelat, and after receiving sanction (from British) I will then punish the offenders. On the other

hand, should my Naibs and officers cause them injury contrary to custom and ancient usage, and should I not on being referred to do justice, then I am willing that my case should be appealed through the Political Officer at Khelat to the British Government for orders.

10. The Brahooees should, according to precedent and old rule, serve me and obey my orders, and I on my part will confer favours on them, as my ancestors did.

11. Should the British Government approve of these desires of mine as recorded herein, then my Government will hold itself responsible for the safety of the Bolan, Mulla, Raj, Kedj, Mekran, and all other Khorasan Passes, and I will do my best to keep these Passes open, as desired by the British Government.

Appendix VII

THE FOLLOWING RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE SIRDARS AND NAIBS IN CONDUCTING THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE KHELAT STATE RECEIVED THE ASSENT OF HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KHELAT ON THE 1ST AUGUST 1876.

WHEREAS the late civil war created great difficulty in the administration of the Khelat State, which of late years, contrary to ancient usage, has been entirely in the hands of the Naibs, supported by a small body of regular troops; and whereas peace has been again restored to the country, I, Mir Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, direct that the former civil

administration of the country be restored, and I publish the following rules which this day have received my assent, for the guidance of my Sirdars and Naibs:

The civil administration of the country is divided into four parts :

1. Collection of revenue, whether in cash or in kind.
2. Settlement of claims for money, etc.
3. Disposal of criminal cases.
4. The protection of the civil power by the military.

Regarding the first, I direct my Naibs not to interfere in any way with revenue-free grants. These are to remain, as formerly, entirely in the hands of the Brahooees. But should a Brahooee purchase from a ryot land on which revenue, either in cash or in kind, has been fixed, the Naib will collect from him the usual assessment. Should any Brahooee refuse to pay the assessment of the Naib, the latter will at once refer to the Sirdar of the tribe to which the Brahooee belongs, who will realise the amount due. Should the Sirdar consider the Brahooees had just grounds for refusing to pay the assessment, he will refer them to the Naib; and should the latter concur, the claim will be dismissed. Should the Naib not agree with the Sirdar, the latter can refer the dispute to His Highness the Khan, whose decision in the matter will be final, and the Sirdar will be responsible for putting it in force. After putting the Khan's order in force, should the Sirdar consider the Khan's order unjust, he can refer the matter through the Political Agent at Khelat to the British Government. The procedure recorded here applies to all disputes regarding the collection of revenue, whether in cash or in kind.

2. Money transactions, debts, etc.—As a rule, when the plaintiff and defendant belong to one and the same tribe,

the Sirdar of the tribe will in accordance with ancient custom hear and dispose of the case. In the event of the Sirdar's decision giving dissatisfaction to either plaintiff or defendant, party dissatisfied can appeal to His Highness the Khan, whose decision shall be final. The Sirdar, on being informed of the Khan's decision, must put it in force. In the event of a Hindu or Dewar complaining against a Brahooee, the claim in the first instance must go before the Sirdar of the tribe. Should a settlement in which both sides concur be come to, well and good; if not, the claim will be brought by the complainant before the Naib, who will dispose of it according to State law. Appeal from the Naib's order will lie to His Highness the Khan, whose decision is final and must be carried out by the Sirdar. In the event of the plaintiff being a Brahooee and the defendant a Dewar or Hindu, the claim in the first instance must be brought before the Naib, who will dispose of the case according to State law. From the Naib's order an appeal will lie to His Highness the Khan, whose decision shall be final. The order of the Naib need not be put in force by the Sirdar until the Khan's decision is known, then it must be put in force at once.

3. Regarding the disposal of all criminal cases.—Should plaintiff and defendant be Brahooees or Belooch and belong to the same tribe, the Sirdar will according to ancient custom dispose of the case. An appeal from his order will lie to His Highness the Khan, whose decision shall be final and must be put in force by the Sirdar. In the event of the Sirdar not having the power for any course whatever, to enforce His Highness' order, in that case he will apply to His Highness for help to enforce the order of the Khelat Government. Should the Sirdar consider the act of His Highness an oppressive one, he can complain to the British Government through the Political Agent. In the event of the complainant

being a Dewar or Hindu, and the defendant a Brahooee, the case must go before the Naib; and the Sirdar on the Naib's application, must seize the defendant and make him over to the Naib. The Sirdar can attend at the inquiry, and take part in it; and if the Naib and the Sirdar agree in the finding and sentence they will together dispose of the case. Should they differ in opinion, the case will be referred to His Highness the Khan for final orders, which will be binding on the Naib and Sirdar. Should a Brahooee escape to any tribe after committing an offence, the Sirdar of that tribe is responsible to apprehend him, and to dispose of his offence in accordance with the procedure just recorded.

4. Protection and aid to be rendered to the civil power by the military.—His Highness the Khan has the power to place troops in any part of the Khanate, whether inhabited by the Brahooees or not, for the protection of the civil power. In the event of any tribe or portion of a tribe disobeying a lawful order of the Khan, the Sirdars will be called upon in accordance with ancient law and precedent to cause the offending tribe or portion of a tribe to submit. In the event of it being necessary to resort to arms to enforce submission, the Sirdars will aid the Khan with their followers in accordance with old custom; but before war on the tribe or portion of a tribe is declared, the Khan will obtain first the sanction of the British Government before waging it. In the event of the Naibs using the troops stationed with them contrary to the procedure laid down for their guidance, and that of the Sirdars in the rules herein recorded, the complainant must refer the matter direct to His Highness the Khan, who will inquire and do justice. Should the Sirdars consider that the Khan's decision is unjust, they will not raise the standard of revolt, but will first refer the matter to the British Government for decision.

Appendix VIII

TRANSLATION OF A SANAD DATED 7TH RAJAB (16TH JUNE 1880)
GRANTED BY HIS HIGHNESS MIR KHODADAD KHAN, KHAN OF
KHELAT, TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

I, Mir Khodadad Khan, G.C.S.I., Khan of Kelat, do hereby make over in perpetuity to the British Government in gift the lands within my dominions on which the Kandahar State Railway has been constructed, together with the lands on either side of the line of railway for a distance of 200 yards, as well as those lands on which all railway stations and buildings have been erected. The object of my making this gift to the British Government is to show the friendship with which I regard the alliance existing between the British Government and the Kelat State, and* [to enable the British Government to make their own arrangement] for the protection of life and property within the limits of the railway [without reference to the laws of the Kelat State]. But** I beg that this may not affect my right to realise the usual transit dues (sung) on merchandise.

Seal of MIR KHODADAD KHAN,
Khan of Kelat.

* This should run—"the British Government is at liberty to make its own arrangement," etc. F. H.

** Should be—"without prohibiting the realisation of the usual transit dues (sung) which I receive." F.H.

Appendix IX

AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE DEMARCATION OF THE BOUNDARY
BETWEEN PERSIAN BALUCHISTAN AND KALAT—1896.

IN accordance with the agreement for the delimitation of the Perso-Kalat frontier from Kohak to Koh-i-Malik Siah, drawn up between Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Tehran and His Highness the Sardar-i-Azam of Persia, dated the 27th December 1895, this frontier has been demarcated as follows:

Commencing from the Mashkel river it is defined by the bed of that river from pillar 1 to pillar 2. Pillar 1 is placed on a conspicuous hill on the left or north bank of the river, about a mile and a half below the junction of the Gazbastan stream with the Mashkel and almost immediately south of Kohak Fort.

Pillar 2 is built on a well-marked hill on the right or south bank of the Mashkel river about 6 miles above the junction of the Mashkel and Rakhshan rivers. From pillar 2 the boundary runs in a north-westerly direction to a conspicuous peak on the subsidiary range which runs from the Tank-i-Grawag to the Siah. The peak is marked by pillar 3. From pillar 3 it follows the watershed of this subsidiary range to its junction with that of the Siah Koh, and thence it is defined westward by the main watershed of the Siah range to a point about 4 miles east of the pass called Bonsar or Sharindor, on the main road connecting Isfandak with Jalk. At this point, which is marked by pillar 4, a subsidiary

watershed or spur runs northward, along which the boundary extends, leaving all drainage into the cultivated tracts of Kalagam on the Persian side. The boundary is here marked by a conspicuous peak, distinguished by a natural bluff resembling a tower on its summit. From this peak 5, it is carried to pillar 6, which is placed on the main road leading a little south of east from the village of Kaladen towards the Mashkel river. Pillar 6 is 4 miles from the village of Kaladen. From pillar 6 the boundary runs direct to pillar 7 on the main road connecting Jalk with Ladgasht and Mashkel at 12 miles from Ziarat-Pir-Omar at Jalk.

From pillar 7 the boundary is carried in a northerly direction by a straight line to pillar 8.

Pillar 8 is placed on the road connecting the date groves of Ladgasht with those of Muksokhta or Muksotag, and it is erected at a distance of 3 miles from the southern edge of the Muksotag grove, so as to divide the southern group of date groves, including Ladgasht and Kalag, from the northern group, which includes Muksotag, Gorani and others.

Ladgasht, with its date groves, becomes the property of Kalat, and Gorani with its date groves, has been allotted to Persia, on the understanding that the frontier Governors of the Persian Government in future become responsible for the conduct of the Damani cultivators of these groves.

From pillar 8 the boundary runs 14 miles nearly north to pillar 9 at the south-eastern edge of the Kindi date grove, and thence in the same direction for 31 miles to the north-eastern edge of the same grove of Kindi, where pillar 10 is erected.

From pillar 10 the boundary runs 11 miles a little south of west so as to clear the northern edge of the Kindi date grove, to pillar 11.

Pillar 11 is on the edge of the right bank of the Talab water course, and about 1 mile east of the northern end of the Gorani date groves.

From pillar 11 northwards the Talab river becomes the boundary to its junction with the Mirjawa river. From the point of junction it is carried by a straight line to the nearest point on the watershed of the Mirjawa range, which limits the drainage into the Mirjawa river on the north.

Thence it follows the main watershed northward to the highest point of the Kacha Koh.

From the highest point of the Kacha Koh the line is carried straight to the highest point of the Malik Siah Koh.

CAMP JALK:
24th March, 1896.

T.H. HOLDICH, Colonel, R.E.,
H. M's. Commissioner, Perso-Kalat
Boundary.

(Note: A tabulated form of boundary demarcations follows on pp. 245-46.)

Description of pillars, etc.

No.	Latitude	Longitude	General description
1	27 5 30	63 17 25	A conical pile of stones, about 12 feet high, built on the summit of a hill overlooking the Mashkel river on its northern bank, about a mile and a half below the junction of the Gazbaskan stream with the Mashkel. Azimuth of pillar: 2—75°. Distance: 5½ miles.
2	27 6 50	63 22 30	A conical pile of stones, about 6 feet high, built on a hill overlooking the Mashkel river on its southern bank, about six miles above the junction of the Rakhshan river with the Mashkel. Azimuth of pillar: 3—335°. Distance: 7½ miles.
3	27 12 30	63 19 30	A conical pile of stones, about 5 or 6 feet high, built on a conspicuous peak of low range connecting the Tank-i-Grawag (where the Mashkel river passes between the Siahan and Koh-i-Sabz ranges) with the Siahan. This low range is locally known as the Grawag. From pillar 3 to 4 the line follows first the watershed of this subsidiary Grawag range to its junction with that of the Siahan, and the Siahan watershed to pillar 4. Azimuth of pillar 4—273°. Distance: 30½ miles.
4	27 14 40	62 49 50	A pile of stones erected on a flat-topped peak of the Siahan watershed, about 4 miles east of the Bonsar or Sharindor Kotal or pass. From this point the boundary diverges northward along the eastern watershed of the Kallagan river to peak 5. Azimuth of peak: 5—6°. Distance: 8½ miles.
5	27 21 30	62 50 30	A conspicuous peak on the watershed or spur which trends northward from pillar 4. It is marked by a natural bluff resembling a tower on its summit. Azimuth of peak: 6—21°. Distance: 7½ miles.

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PERSO-KALAT BOUNDARY—*contd.*

No.	Latitude	Longitude	General description
6	27 27 40	62 53 20	A pile of mixed earth and stones set up on the main road which runs eastward from the Kalladin village about 4 miles from the village. Azimuth of pillar: 7—356°. Distance: 21 miles.
7	27 46 0	62 51 54	A pile of mixed earth and stones erected on the main road, connecting Jalk with Ladgasht about 12 miles from Jalk. Azimuth of pillar: 8—349°. Distance: 18 miles.
8	28 1 49	62 48 30	Pillar 8 is a small mound constructed of sand and bushes on rising ground about 3 miles south-east of the southern edge of the Muk-sotag grove, on the road between Mukso-tag and Ladgasht. Azimuth of pillar: 9—7°. Distance: 13½ miles.
9	28 13 40	62 50 20	Pillar 9 is a small mound of mixed sand and bushes at the south-eastern end of Kindi date grove. Azimuth of pillar: 10—359°. Distance: 3½ miles.
10	28 16 35	62 50 10	Pillar 10 is a small mound of mixed sand and bushes on the north-eastern edge of the Kindi date grove. Azimuth of pillar: 11—265°. Distance: 11½ miles.
11	28 14 20	62 30 20	Pillar 11 is a small mound of mixed sand and bushes on a low range of sand hills on the right bank of the Talab watercourse, and one mile east of the northern end of the Goorani date grove. Approximate azimuth along Talab river: 310°.

CAMP JALK;
4th March 1896.

T.H. HOLDICH, Colonel, R.E.,
H.M.'s Commissioner, Perso-Kalat Boundary.

APPENDICES

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Appendix X

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KALAT, MIR MAHMUD KHAN, G.C.I.E., ON THE ONE PART, AND BY COLONEL HENRY WYLIE, C.S.I., OFFICIATING AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN, ON THE OTHER PART, SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY IN COUNCIL—1899.

Executed at Kalat on the first day of July 1899.

WHEREAS it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both the British Government and His Highness Mir Mahmud Khan, Khan of Kalat, that the District and Niabat of Nushki should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows:

Mir Mahmud, Khan of Kalat, on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors, hereby makes over and entrusts, in perpetuity, the entire management of the Nushki District and Niabat absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, State or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls, to the British Government with effect from the 1st July, 1899 on the following conditions:

- (1) that the said District and Niabat shall be administered on behalf of the British Government by or through such officer or officers as the Governor-General in Council may appoint for the purpose;

- (2) that the British Government shall pay to His Highness, on the 1st September 1899, and thereafter annually on the 1st September, a fixed annual rent of Rs. 9,000, (nine thousand only), which has been settled as a fair average equivalent of His Highness the Khan's right to the annual revenues of the said District and *Niabat*; and
- (3) that the aforesaid sum of Rs. 9,000, (nine thousand only) shall be paid to His Highness without any deduction for cost of administration.

H. WYLIE, Colonel,
*Officiating Agent to the
 Governor-General in Baluchistan.*

SEAL OF MIR MAHMUD,
Khan of Kalat.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

This agreement was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on Tuesday, this 18th day of July 1899.

H. S. BARNES,
*Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
 Foreign Department.*

Appendix XI

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KALAT, MIR MAHMUD KHAN, G.C.I.E., ON THE ONE PART, AND BY THE HON'BLE COLONEL C.E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G., AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN, ON THE OTHER PART, SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL—1903.

Executed at Sibi on the seventeenth day of February one thousand nine hundred and three.

I. WHEREAS it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both the British Government and His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., Khan of Kalat, that the *Niabat* of Nasirabad should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows:

His Highness Mir Mahmud Khan, Khan of Kalat, on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors, hereby makes over and cedes in perpetuity to the British Government the entire management of the Nasirabad *Niabat* absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, State or personal, as well as full and exclusive, revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls on the following conditions:

- (1) That the said *Niabat* shall be administered on behalf of the British Government by or through such

officer or officers as the Governor-General in Council may appoint for the purpose, with effect from the first day of April, one thousand nine-hundred and three, or such subsequent date as the Government of India may take it over.

- (2) That the British Government shall pay to His Highness on the first day of April, one thousand nine hundred and four and thereafter annually on the first day of April, each year, a fixed annual rent of Rs. 115,000 (one hundred and fifteen thousand).

- (3) That the aforesid sum of Rs. 115,000 (one-hundred and fifteen thousand) shall be paid to His Highness without any deduction for cost of administration.

II. The boundary of the Nasirabad Niabat as described by His Highness the Khan of Kalat's Naib, Ghaus Bakhsh, in July 1902 is as follows:

On the south the Sind border on the north commencing eastwards at the Leni Burj it runs north-eastwards along the Mazari border to the Bugti hills. It follows the foot of these hills running in a westerly direction to their nearest point to the Shahpur road near the Manak Garhi Nullah. It there follows this nullah as far as the Shahpur road; then follows the Shahpur road south as far as the Deh Chatten lands (generally known as Dodaika) and then turns west following the boundary of Dodaika to the Nurwah channel above the point to where the water reaches. It then follows the Nurwah as far as the junction of the latter with the Dur Muhammad Wah, which is shown on most maps as the Shahiwah, a continuation of the

main desert canal. From this point it follows the Dur Muhammad Wah right along its course to the west and south-west, crossing the railway at mile 368, five miles north of Jhatpat station, until it meets the line of pillars erected about four years ago by the Magassis and Jamalis as their mutual boundary. It then follows this line of pillars southwards to the Sind border passing about 500 yards to the west of the point where the Sonwah has been closed.

III. Whereas it is possible that the lower portion of the Manjuti lands enclosed by a straight line drawn from the place where the Dur Muhammad Wah crosses the railway near mile 368, to a point on the Jacobabad-Shahpur road, 8 miles to the north of where the Dur Muhammad Wah crossed that road, may hereafter be brought under irrigation. His Highness the Khan of Kalat hereby agrees on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors to make over and cede to the British Government in perpetuity that portion of the Manjuti land in the same manner as the Nasirabad Niabat above referred to; and it is hereby agreed that the British Government shall pay to His Highness annually an additional rent of Rupees two thousand five hundred making a total quit-rent of Rs. 117,500 to be paid on the first day of April one thousand nine hundred and four and subsequent years.

IV. And whereas it is advisable that any further Kalat State lands outside the present boundary of the Nasirabad Niabat which may hereafter possibly be brought under irrigation by branches and extensions from existing British canal should also come under British administration in the same manner as the Nasirabad Niabat above referred to, His Highness the Khan agrees to make over on lease in perpetuity any lands in the Lehri Bhag and Gandawa Niabats

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that may hereafter be found to be irrigable from existing British canals at a fair quit-rent which can be determined when the surveys have been completed.

MIR MAHMUD KHAN,
CHAS. E. YATE, Colonel,
Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan.
CURZON,
Viceroy and Governor-General in India.

This Agreement was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on Thursday, this 14th day of May 1903.

LOUIS W. DANE,
*Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.*

Appendix XII

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE KHAN OF KALAT REGARDING THE CESSION OF JURISDICTION OVER THAT PORTION OF THE NUSHKI RAILWAY WHICH LIES WITHIN THE KALAT STATE—1903.

I, Beglar Begi Mir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., Khan of Kalat, hereby cede to the British Government full and exclusive power and jurisdiction of every kind over the lands in the said State, which are, or may hereafter be, occupied by

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the Nushki Railway (including all lands occupied for stations, for outbuildings, and for other railway purposes), and over all persons and things whatsoever within the said lands.

KALAT,
The 12th May 1903.

MIR MAHMUD KHAN

Appendix XIII

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, EMPEROR OF INDIA AND HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE SHAHINSHAH OF PERSIA, FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF CERTAIN OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS ON THE FRONTIER OF PERSIA AND INDIA—1905.

His Excellency the Mushir-ed-Dowleh, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Shah of Persia, and Sir A. Hardinge, K.C.B., His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tehran, duly authorised thereto by their respective Governments have concluded the following agreement:

1. His Britannic Majesty's Government withdraw the claim to the ownership of Mirjawa put forward on its behalf in the year 1902, when a Persian Custom House was first

established at that place. The Persian Government on its side, undertakes to permit the British outpost at Padaha to procure (using buckets or waterskins for the purpose) the supply of water which may be necessary for it from the wells or tank situated at or near Mirjawa.

2. The two Governments agree by common consent to abandon the further examination by a special commission of their frontier line in this region which was proposed on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government in Sir A. Hardinge's note to the Mushir-ed-Dowleh, dated the 6th April 1902, and accepted by His Excellency in his note to Sir A. Hardinge of May 14th, 1902. This frontier shall be regarded as definitely settled in accordance with the agreement of 1896, and no further claim shall be made in respect of it.

3. With a view to the increase of friendly relations, the Persian Government will permit the inhabitants of the frontier villages of Mirjawa, Ladis, and Duzdab to sell supplies, should they be willing to do so (to the annual amount of seven-hundred Tabriz kharwars of grain) to the neighbouring British outposts on the Indian side of the frontier, and will also allow the unrestricted export of fifteen-hundred Tabriz kharwars of grain and fifty Tabriz kharwars of ghee annually from Seistan for the use of the British frontier station of Robat Killa and other stations along the Nushki route. All the exports of grain and ghee will be liable to the payment of the customs duty levied on those of the most favoured nation. It is understood that this provision applies to normal years and that the British Government will not demand the specified export of grain from one of the localities mentioned when such locality can be clearly shown to be suffering from actual famine owing to destruction of its crops by locusts, blight, or other exceptional visitation.

Done at Tehran on the 13th day of May in the year 1905.

ARTHUR HARDINGE.

SIGNATURE OF THE MUSHIR-ED-DOWLEH.

The undersigned, His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, hereby declares that in signing the Mirjawa Agreement of the 13th May without reference to His Majesty's Government of the alterations in the original text introduced in compliance with the telegram from His Majesty the Shah of the 12th May in order not to cause further delay in the withdrawal of the Boundary Commission from Persian territory, he reserves the right of His Majesty's Government, should it not accept the amendments in question, to withhold its assent to the agreement.

ARTHUR HARDINGE.

Appendix XIV

MEMORANDUM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF KALAT

[Prepared by Sir Sultan Ahmad Khan and presented to the Cabinet Mission by the Quaid-e-Azam.]

1. This memorandum deals with the following cases of the Kalat State:

(i) The future position of Kalat.

- (ii) Claims in respect of Las Bela and Kharan.
- (iii) Claims in respect of the Marri and Bugti tribes.

I. The Future Position of Kalat

The strategic position of Kalat.

2. The State of Kalat, including the territories under its suzerainty, is bounded on the north by Afghanistan and British Baluchistan; on the east by the Provinces of the Punjab and Sind; on the south by the Arabian Sea; and on the west by Iran. Kalat, therefore, constitutes an important buffer State:

- (a) between India and Afghanistan; and
- (b) between India and Iran.

International trade highways between India and Afghanistan and Iran also traverse the territories of the State. Emphasising the strategic importance of Kalat, Sir William Meredith wrote as follows in 1869: "It has always been, and naturally must ever be, as long as the Khan of Kalat remains a free and independent sovereign, our great object to increase his influence, and strengthen his power within his country as much as we can. To relieve him of constant complaints by us regarding lawless acts committed by certain refractory portions of his subjects would doubtless be in some respect satisfactory; but when that end is only to be gained by so public an acknowledgment of his weakness, one so likely to have the worst effect on the remainder of his subjects, his wisdom in accepting such relief would be most questionable, and for us to recommend it, would be abandoning the policy we know to be right and most sound, the whole subject of the

protection of our western frontier being taken into consideration. As long as the Khanate of Khelat is in the hands of one person and that one as at present only desires to act in accordance with the wishes of the British Government, we need feel no concern about the safety of our frontier from north to south."* A strong and independent buffer State of Kalat in alliance with the future Government of India is, therefore, essential to the peace and tranquillity of the western borders of India.

British relations with Kalat.

3. Kalat came into relations with the British Government for the first time in 1839 when a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Khan. This treaty recognized the title of the Khan to "the country of Kalat, Kachhi, Makran, Kej, Bela and the port of Soumiani", and stipulated that "the English Government will never interfere between the Khan, his dependents, and subjects". The treaty did not, however, contain any restrictions on the sovereign powers of the Khan, either external or internal. A fresh treaty was concluded in 1841, by which the Khan of Kalat bound "himself, his heirs and successors not to hold any political communication or enter into negotiation with foreign powers without the consent of the British Government and of his Majesty Shah Shuja of Kabul". (Shah Shuja, was an exiled Ruler of Afghanistan, who had taken refuge in Kalat State, and who was desired both by the British Government and Kalat State to be helped to regain the Kabul Throne. Otherwise there is no reliable evidence to show that the relations between Afghanistan and Kalat State had ever been based on anything but mutual understandings alone.) This treaty was replaced by another treaty

* Vide *Baluchistan, No. 1*. Papers relating to the Affairs of Khelat. London, 1877.

in 1854 (Annexure A—annexed), the main features of which were as follows:

- (i) The provision in the previous treaty regarding any kind of understandings with the King of Afghanistan was deleted.
- (ii) The treaty provided for perpetual friendship between the British Government and the Khan of Kalat.
- (iii) It prohibited negotiations with other States without the consent of the British Government.
- (iv) It bound the Khan and his heirs and successors "to oppose to the utmost all the enemies of the British Government, and to prevent all plundering and other outrages by his subjects".
- (v) The British Government agreed to pay to the Khan, his heirs and successors an annual subsidy of fifty thousand rupees for the due fulfilment of the Khan's obligations.

The Treaty position of Kalat.

4. The present relations between the State and the British Government are governed by the Treaty of 1876 (Annexure B—annexed) which was concluded "to draw closer the bonds of friendship and amity between the two Governments". This treaty renews and reaffirms the Treaty of 1854 and imposes the following obligations on the British Government:

- (i) the obligations to respect the independence of Kalat;

- (ii) the obligation to aid the Khan, in case of need, in the maintenance of his just authority; and
- (iii) the obligation to protect the territories of the Khan from external attack.

The Khan of Kalat, on his part, undertakes:

- (i) to oppose to the utmost all the enemies of the British Government;
- (ii) to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government; and
- (iii) to submit to the arbitration of the British Government any dispute with the Sirdars of Kalat, calculated to disturb the peace of the country.

The undertakings of the Khan under this Treaty do not affect the sovereign status of Kalat, for it is generally admitted that "the sovereignty of the State does not preclude the assumption of obligations, by treaty or otherwise, or the existence of a servitude upon the territory of one State for the benefit of another. Nor is it incompatible with the payment of tribute, where such payment is made, as to the Barbary powers prior to 1830, not as a sign of dependence, but as the price of an advantage gained or peril avoided."*

The same view has been strongly affirmed by the Permanent Court of International Justice: "The Court declines to see in the conclusion of any treaty by which a State undertakes to perform or refrain from performing a particular act an abandonment of its sovereignty. No doubt any convention creating an obligation of this kind places a restriction upon the exercise of the sovereign rights of the States in the sense that

* Moore, *International Law Digest*. Vol. 1, pp. 19-20.

it requires them to be exercised in a certain way. But the right of entering into international engagement is an attribute of State sovereignty.** As Calvo points out, the transitory obedience which a State pays to the directions of another government, or the exterior influence to which it may eventually have to submit, does not detract from the sovereignty of such State. Thus, for instance, the City of Cracow was recognized by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 as a Free State, independent and neutral, under the protection of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Notwithstanding the powerful influence which these three powers were thus called upon to exercise over the Free State of Cracow, it did not cease to be considered as an independent nation in its international relations till 1846 when it was annexed to the Empire of Austria.** It would, therefore, be evident from these authoritative statements that there is nothing in the Treaty (of) 1876 which could negative the claim of the Government of Kalat that the Khanate is a sovereign and independent State from the standpoint of internal sovereignty. The treaty, however, imposes an important restriction on the external authority of the State. It specifically provides that the Khan of Kalat shall not enter into any negotiations with other States without the consent of British Government, the usual friendly correspondence with neighbours being continued as before. The question, therefore, arises, does the Treaty of 1876 establish a protectorate over the State of Kalat in view of this prohibition on international negotiations? It is no doubt true, as Wilhelm asserts, that the abandonment of external sovereignty is an essential element of protectorates.*** This does not, however, mean that the converse is equally true. The mere fact that a State has surrendered certain rights

* *Advisory Opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice*, Series B, p. 21.

** Calvo, *Le Droit International*. Vol. 1, p. 172.

*** Wilhelm, *Theorie Juridique des Protectorats*, p. 205.

of external sovereignty to another State, does not necessarily imply that the juristic nexus of a protectorate has been set up between the two States. The Treaty of 1876 does not, therefore, create protectorate over Kalat but purports to establish an offensive and defensive alliance between Kalat and the British Government. Therefore, the position of Kalat is not analogous to that of a protected State of India but rather approximates to that of the South African Republic under the Convention of 1884, Article 4 of which provided that the South African Republic would 'conclude no treaty or engagement with any other State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen'. The status of Kalat is also similar to that of Cuba, which, although a member of the United Nations, has, by virtue of what is known as the Platt Amendment, no authority to conclude with any foreign power or powers without the permission of the United States of America any treaty or pact which restricts or tends to restrict the independence of Cuba, or authorises or permits any foreign power or powers to secure any base or jurisdiction in any portion of Cuba for the purpose of colonization or for naval or military purposes or for any other purpose.

Consequences of the transference of power in British India.

5. On the transference of power in British India, the subsisting treaties between the Khan of Kalat and the British Government will come to an end, and whatever obligations have been imposed on the Khan by these treaties will *ipso facto* terminate. The consequence will be that the State of Kalat will become fully sovereign and independent in respect of both external and internal matters, and will be free to

conclude treaties with any other Government or State. The Khan of Kalat and his people are most anxious that the completely independent Status, which will emerge as a result of the transference of power in British India, should continue, and the State of Kalat should not be asked to come within the framework of the proposed Indian Union.

*Reasons for the continuance of independent status.
The people of Kalat not akin to the people of India.*

6. Several strong and weighty reasons have persuaded the Khan and his peoples to adopt this attitude. In the first place, ethnographically, the people of Kalat and of the territories under its suzerainty, have no affinities with the people of India. The Ruling Family of Kalat is of Arab origin, and not, as usually stated, of Brahuic extraction. They belong to the Ahmadzai branch of the Mirwari clan, which originally emigrated from Oman to the Kolwa Valley of Makran. Apart from the Brahuis, all the important and influential tribes are also of non-Indian origin. The Marri and Bugti tribes, who occupy the most southern buttresses of the Sulaiman Mountains, are Rind Baluchis, almost certainly of Arab extraction. They came to Sind either with Arab conquerors, or after them, and remained there mixed up with the original Hindu inhabitants. The Arab type of Baluch extends through the whole country at intervals, and includes the finest and best of Baluch humanity. Equally scattered through the whole country and almost everywhere recognizable, is the underlying Iranian population (Tajik), which is sometimes represented by a locally dominant tribe, but more frequently by the agriculturists, who extend all through Makran and are known as Dehwars and Durzadas. There are also the Naushirwanis, a purely Iranian race, who passed into Baluchistan within historic times, and inhabit mostly the Kharan

Desert and Mashkel. The Brahuis, who are spread through southern Baluchistan as well as the eastern hills and preponderate in number, are the only tribes which are said to have descended from the Dravidian races but have at present nothing in common with the people of India having been deprived for centuries of all intercourse with them.

The Baluchi language has no affinity with any Indian language.

7. From the point of view of language, there is very little affinity between India and Kalat. The Baluchi language belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. It is divided into two main dialects which are separated by the belt of Brahui speakers who occupy the Sarawan and Jalawan hills and Las Bela. The Baluchi spoken on the west of Kalat, which is also called Makrani, is more largely impregnated with Persian words and expressions than the eastern dialect. In the latter the words in use for common objects and acts are nearly all pure Baluchi, the remainder of the language being borrowed from Persian, Sindhi and Punjabi. The Brahui is said to be a Dravidian language but has no affinity with any Indian language except the Gond dialect in Central India.

Geographically, Kalat not a part of India.

8. Geographically Kalat does not fall within the territorial limits of India. On the north, it is separated from India by the massive barrier of the southern buttresses of the Sulaiman Mountains. On the south, there is the long extension from Kalat of the inconceivably wild highland country which faces the desert of Sind, the foot of which forms the Indian frontier. This is the land of the Brahui, and the flat wall of its frontier limestone barrier is one of the most remarkable features in the configuration of the whole line of

Indian borderland. For the first sixty miles from sea, near Karachi, the Hab River is the boundary, and here across the enclosing desolation of outcropping ridges and intervening sands, a road may be found into Makran, but from the point where the boundary leaves the Hab to follow the Kirthar Range, not a break occurs save one, in one hundred and fifty miles of solid rockwall, rising many thousands of feet straight from the sandy plains of India. The one break only leads into a mass of impregnable hills. The only gateway to these inaccessible territories of the State is a space of flat, alluvial desert which forms a sort of inlet striking into the Baluchistan mountain system.

Historically, Kalat never a part of India.

9. Historically, Kalat has never been a part of India. Of the early history of the State little or nothing is known. The first distinct account which we have is from Arrian, who narrates the march of Alexander through this region. In the eighth century, the country was traversed by an army of the Caliphate. The present dynasty was founded by Kambar, a leader of the mountain tribes. After various successes, the Kambarians at length possessed themselves of the sovereignty of a considerable portion of the fruitful plain of Gandava. It was about this time that Nadir Shah advanced from Persia to the invasion of Hindustan, and the Khan of Kalat, who helped the Shah with men and money, was by a *firman* appointed "Beglar Begi" (Prince of Princes) of all Baluchistan. On the death of Nadir Shah, the Khan of Kalat acknowledged the title of the King of Kabul, Ahmed Shah Durani. In 1758, however, the Khan declared himself entirely independent, upon which Ahmed Shah dispatched a force against him under one of his ministers. This expedition terminated in a treaty of peace, by which the Khan agreed to furnish troops to

assist the Kabul armies, and the Afghan King, in return, agreed to pay him a cash allowance. From that time till 1839, when the British army advanced through the Bolan Pass to Afghanistan, Kalat was completely independent owing no allegiance to any authority in India or elsewhere.

Kalat not an Indian State.

10. Kalat is not an Indian State and has never been assimilated to the position of an Indian State. The British Government has never claimed that the doctrine of paramountcy was applicable to its relations with Kalat; nor has the Khan ever admitted that the powers of paramountcy could be exercised against him and his government. On the contrary, several representatives of the British Government have described Kalat as a sovereign and independent State. In 1872 Sir W.L. Merewether, who was in charge of the British Government's relations with Kalat, wrote as follows: "There cannot, in my opinion, be the least doubt of the course which should be followed with regard to Khelat, or Beloochistan as it should be correctly termed. His Highness the Khan is *de facto* and *de jure* Ruler of that country. We have treaty engagements with him under which he is bound to keep his subjects from injuring British territory or people, to protect trade, etc. But the treaty is with him as ruler only, and under none of the engagements are we called upon to enter directly into the manner in which he carries on his government."* The same view was held by Sir Bartle Frere, another recognised British authority on Kalat. Dealing with the question of the policy of the British Government *vis-a-vis* Kalat, Sir Bartle Frere wrote as follows in 1876: "It was a cardinal rule to attempt no disintegration of the Khan of

* Vide *Boluchistan* No. 2. Papers relating to the Treaty concluded between the Government of India and the Khan of Kalat. p. 127, para 95.

Khelat's sovereignty, whether nominal or real, over the Belooch tribes, but rather by every means in our power to uphold his authority. . . . *The Khan was regarded as our independent ally, free to act as he pleased in internal affairs, but externally subordinate to the English Government in all that could affect anything beyond his own border. . . . We dealt with Khelat as far as possible as we would with Belgium or Switzerland.*"* This policy was insisted upon by the Government of India against the wishes of the local officers even during the years of anarchy and discord which prevailed in Khelat till the conclusion of the Treaty of 1876. There was also no attempt on the part of the Government of India to exercise any powers of paramountcy; on the contrary, they did not even avail themselves of the authority delegated to them under the treaties, apart from suspending the payment of the annual subsidy. Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, while approving of the policy adopted by the Government of India wrote as follows to the Governor-General-in-Council: "Armed intervention would appear an unfriendly act towards a State with which our relations have, until recently been cordial, while it would probably entail a prolonged occupation of the country, and might involve ulterior results of a serious kind in other quarters. . . . His Majesty's Government trust that an early opportunity may be taken of again placing the relations between the Government of India and the Khan of Khelat on the friendly footing provided for by the Treaty of 1854, and thereby re-establish a position of affairs desirable in the interests of the British Government, and essential to the continued existence of Khelat as an independent State."**

* Vide *Baluchistan No. 3*. Paper relating to the Re-organization of the Western and North-Western Frontier of India. p. 13, para 1 and p. 15, para 9.

** Vide *Baluchistan No 1*. Papers relating to the affairs of Khelat, p. 530.

It is, no doubt true, that the Government of India Act, 1935, treats Kalat as an Indian State and provides representation for it in the Federal Legislature, but the State was never consulted in the drafting of this Act, nor was it a party to it in any manner. The territories of Kalat State being outside the limits of the legislative authority of the British Parliament, the Act could not be held binding on the State. Nevertheless, the Khan of Kalat lodged a protest against the provisions of the Act which he considered to be an infringement of his treaty and asked for a formal reaffirmation of the Treaty of 1876. In the personal letter to His Highness, His Excellency the Crown Representative assured him that such reaffirmation was unnecessary, and that His Excellency recognised the Treaty of 1876 as fully valid in every respect, and that it would henceforth form the basis of the relations between the British Government and the Kalat State.

Views of the Government of Kalat regarding the future position of the State.

11. In view of the foregoing considerations, the Government of Kalat maintain, and they are supported in this by the unanimous will of the subjects of the State—

- (a) that the Kalat State is an independent sovereign State whose relations with the British Government are governed by the Treaty of 1876;
- (b) that its Indian associations are merely due to its connections with the British Government;
- (c) that Kalat being an independent State, the Khan, his Government, and his people can never agree to

Kalat being included in any form of Indian Union; and

- (d) that with the termination of the treaty with the British Government, the Kalat State will revert to its pre-treaty position of complete independence, and will be free to choose its own course for the future.

The Khan and his Government are, however, anxious to continue friendly and amicable relations with India, and will always be glad to enter into an alliance with any Government which succeeds the British Government in India on the basis of strictest reciprocity and mutual recognition of independence.

II. Claims in respect of Las Bela and Kharan

Origin of the chiefship of Las Bela.

12. British authorities in India have recognised the fact that the Khan of Kalat is "the sovereign of Baluchistan". "Facing the Sind border", wrote Sir William Merewether in 1876, "there is but one country, presided over by one Ruler, the Khan, to whom all the chiefs of the various tribes within it owe allegiance."* One of these chief(s) is the Jam of Las Bela who has been a feudatory of the Khan of Kalat and whose territory has been an integral part of the Kalat State ever since the foundation of the present family of Las Bela. It was in 1742 that Jam Ali, Sirdar of the Jamot tribe, sought the assistance of the Khan of Kalat in conquering the territ-

*See letter No. 340 dated 5th April, 1872, from Sir W. L. Merewether to the Governor and President in Council, Bombay, *Baluchistan No. 1*, Papers relating to the affairs of Kalat, 1877. See also report of Sir W. Merewether dated 30th September, 1876, *Baluchistan No. 3*, Reorganization of Western and North-Western Frontier of India, 1878.

ories comprised in the principality of Las Bela. The Khan despatched a strong force of Brahuis, and with the assistance of this force Jam Ali succeeded in establishing his authority, and was allowed by the Khan of Kalat to retain the territories on the condition of military service and on payment of one-half share of the revenues.

The Khan of Kalat and the Jam of Las Bela.

13. Jam Mir Khan-I succeeded to the chiefship in 1776; and married the daughter of the Khan of Kalat, who thereupon conferred upon him the other half of the revenue of Las Bela which had been realised by the Khan of Kalat since 1742. Las Bela, however, continued to be under the sovereignty of the Khan of Kalat, and the Jam was under the obligation to bring 4,500 men into the field in time of war. This position was accepted by the British Government in the treaty of 1839, Article (1) of which read as follows: "As Nasir Khan and his descendants, as well as his tribe and sons, held possession of the country of Kalat, Kachhi Khorstan, Makran, Kej, Bela and the port of Soumiani in the time of the lamented Ahmad Shah Durani they will in future be masters of their country in the same manner."

Rebellions of the Jam of Las Bela.

14. In 1830, Jam Mir Khan-II succeeded to the chiefship of Las Bela. He married the Khan of Kalat's sister, but this did not prevent him from aspiring to the Khanate, and he joined forces with the chiefs of Jhalawan and with Azad Khan of Kharan in three rebellions against the State of Kalat. In this he was encouraged by the action of the local British officers who in 1861 entered into a direct engagement with him regarding the protection of the Indo-Persian Telegraph line, although the Jam had been recognised

by the British Government to be a feudatory of the Khan of Kalat. Sir William Merewether, the Commissioner in Sind, did not hesitate to bring this point to the notice of the authorities. In his report on the administration of the Frontier Districts of Sind, dated the 30th September, 1876, he said: "In general, as before stated, all transactions with any people, chiefs or others belonging to the Khelat State, were conducted through the Political Superintendent of the Frontier of Upper Sind and the Khan; but in one instance, this course was not followed, and it may be considered certain that the deviation from so manifestly sound a plan had a baneful effect. The ignoring of the Khan and his position, which took place, and the danger of lessening the Khan's power by so doing, was pointed out by the Political Superintendent at the time; but he was overruled by the Commissioner in Sind. The case was the establishment of the Telegraph line along the Mekran coast to the Persian Gulf. . . . Although as a chief the Jam was subject to the Khan of Khelat, an engagement was entered into with him *direct*. . . . The chief had always been a bad subject, repeatedly creating disturbances, and breaking out in rebellion against the Khan; and this direct recognition of apparent independence of the Khan may well be understood to have given him encouragement in his refractory demeanour towards his sovereign."*

15. The first of these rebellions took place in July 1865. The Jam was, however, defeated by the Khan's troops and taken prisoner. He was pardoned by the Khan and restored to liberty, but proceeded to organise another rebellion towards the close of 1868, Azad Khan of Kharan lending countenance to the movement. Negotiations were

* *Baluchistan*, No. 3, p. 53.

resorted to, and the rebels returned home for a time with their forces, but were soon after again in open rebellion which was, however, unsuccessful, and the Jam ultimately craved forgiveness which was again extended to him. In 1869, the Jam was again in rebellion, but suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Khan's troops and fled to Karachi with his family. He was granted an asylum by the British Government on agreeing to dismiss all his armed followers, to reside at any place fixed by the British Government, and to abstain, while residing in British territory, from taking part in the affairs of the Khan of Kalat or of his old possession.

Expulsion of the Jam and administration of Las Bela by the Khan of Kalat.

16. On the expulsion of the Jam from his territories, the British Government held the Khan of Kalat responsible for administration of Las Bela and repeatedly pressed upon him the necessity of deputing his agent to occupy the territories and to administer them. In January 1872, the British Commissioner in Sind wrote to the Khan that "in the province of Jalawan insurgents have taken possession of Lus Bayla, and *Your Highness' officials have failed to restore your authority*". The Khan was again addressed as follows on the 22nd April, 1873: "I would call Your Highness's attention to the urgent necessity which exists for early arrangements being made for the purpose of the administration of the rich district of Beyla, now for so many months left without any official to represent or maintain your authority. This is required in justice to your subjects there, but it will likewise tend greatly to your advantage in the largely increased revenue that will come into your Treasury." On the 3rd May, 1873, the Commissioner in Sind thus reported the matter to the Governor of Bombay: "The district of Lus Beyla had been without

a governor for more than a year ever since the Shahgassees Goolam Jan had been forced to fly from it through the treachery of the regular troops. The Khan was constantly urged by Major Harrison last summer, after tranquillity had been restored, to send some suitable person to represent him in *this important part of his kingdom*; but he would decide nothing then, and has not been able to make up his mind since.... There is no one actually in opposition to the Khan and his authority except Ali Khan Jamote, and he is a very petty chief, with but a small following..... The state of Lus Beyla was such as to cause considerable anxiety and to make it necessary to urge on the Khan the necessity of taking early steps to introduce proper rule there once more. The Roonjahs, one of the principal tribes in Beyla, and some others had themselves petitioned the Khan to send a governor without delay, whom they would receive well and gladly obey."* Indeed, one of the complaints lodged by the Government of India in 1873 against the King was "his neglect to make arrangements for the good government of Lus Beyla and the suppression of the outrages committed on British traders passing through the country". This attitude of the British Government was clearly in accord with the legal rights and obligations of the Khanate of Kalat *vis-a-vis* "the district of Lus Beyla", and was finally accepted by the Khan who arranged to take over the administration.

17. The Khan's authority in and over Las Bela was also recognised by the British Government when the *ex-Jam* of Las Bela was not permitted to return to Kalat without the previous concurrence of the Khan. In his letter No. 1250-P, dated Simla, 4th June, 1872 the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India informed the Government of

* *Baluchistan*, No. 1. pp. 395-6.

Bombay that "the Jam of Lus Beyla should be told distinctly that his return to Khelat will not be permitted, except at the request of the Khan".

Submission of the Jam to the authority of the Khan of Kalat.

18. On the 13th July, 1876, at the reception held at Mastung by the British representative for the Khan of Kalat and the Sirdars of Sarawan and Jalawan. "Mir Jam Ali Khan and Sirdar Moolla Mohomed on behalf of the Sirdars replied to His Highness. They assured him that they would be loyal and true to him: that they trusted to deserve his favour and kindness, and would in every way attend to the rules and precedents necessary to be observed by all the Sirdars of the Khelat State in their dealings with their Khan."* In July, 1876, the terms of peace were arranged by the British representative "between His Highness the Khan of Khelat, Mir Khodadad Khan, and Mir Jam Ali of Lus Beyla, acting for his father, Jam Mir Khan, and the Brahooee Sirdars of Belloochistan". Article 2 of this Convention read as follows:—"We, the Sarawan and Jalawan Sirdars, do announce our submission and allegiance to His Highness Mir Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, which we make in accordance with ancient rule and custom. His Highness having restored to us (in accordance with ancient law and precedent) our ancient rights and privileges, and having promised for the future to treat us with every kindness and consideration, provided we continue loyal and faithful to the Khelat Government according to old State usage." This convention also provided for the release of the *ex-Jam* of Las Bela. Article 4, which dealt with this matter, ran as follows: "We, Mir Jam Ali Khan, son of Jam Mir Khan, and the Sarawan and Jalawan Sirdars having made public submission to His Highness

* See Kalat Diary for the week ending 14th July, 1876. *Baluchistan*, No. 2, p. 224.

according to precedent and ancient custom, and having presented the Khan with a petition asking His Highness to intercede with the British Government for the release of Jam Mir Khan, now in confinement in British territory, and His Highness the Khan having received the petition and having granted it; His Highness forwarded it under cover of a letter from himself to Major Sandeman, asking that officer to send both to the British Government with a view to Jam Mir Khan being released. This wish we repeat in this record for the consideration of the British Government." The British Government acceded to this request but, *inter alia*, laid down the following conditions:

- (i) that the Jam accepts the Khan's suzerainty in accordance with ancient usage;
- (ii) that he accepts and abides by all the conditions of reconciliation which his son, the acting Jam, agreed to on his behalf at Mastung in July 1876; and
- (iii) agrees to accept as binding on himself and his successors all the terms of the engagement executed between the British and Kalat Governments on behalf of their respective subjects and officers, so far as those terms may in any wise affect or be applicable to him.

19. It is true that the British Government have for sometime, on grounds solely of administrative convenience been dealing direct with Las Bela and treating it, more or less, as a feudatory state under the suzerainty of the Khan of Kalat, but the Khan has never been consulted about any such arrangement, nor has he consented to it, and his

rights and powers in respect of Bela, therefore, remain the same as they were in 1876.

The rights and powers of the Khan of Kalat in respect of Las Bela.

20. From the foregoing account the following conclusions may be drawn:

- (i) that Las Bela has been considered to be a district of Kalat State within the province of Jalawan and is, therefore, a part of territories of Kalat;
- (ii) that since the Jam of Las Bela is one of the Jalawan Sirdars of Kalat and takes his seat in the Darbars of the Khan of Kalat, the Jam is a subject of the Kalat State;
- (iii) that the people of Las Bela are subjects of the Kalat State;
- (iv) that the Khan of Kalat is responsible for the peace and tranquillity of Las Bela, and has, therefore, ultimate authority in respect of administration therein; and
- (v) that the Jam of Las Bela exercises in Las Bela certain powers of internal autonomy, subject to the authority of the Khan of Kalat.

The chiefship of Kharan.

21. Kharan is another chiefship within the territorial limits of Baluchistan of which the Khan of Kalat has been recognised by the British Government as the sovereign. "It is not until the end of the seventeenth century that Kharan, or rather its ruling chiefs, emerged into the clearer light

of ascertained history. From this time forward we find all power centred in the small family of Nausherwanis, who, though to this day they do not number more than nine families, have guided the fortunes of the miscellaneous medley of groups into which the population of Kharan is distributed. Proud, bold, able and unscrupulous, despotic themselves but intolerant of despotism in others, recognising might as the only right, intriguing and resourceful, preferring allegiance when compelled, giving fitful service to the adjacent countries of Persia, Afghanistan or Kalat, according to which was then the predominant power."*

Relations between Kalat and Kharan.

22. It is about 1730 that Kharan is mentioned for the first time in connection with Kalat. This was on the occasion of Nadir Shah's invasion of Afghanistan, and Purdil Khan, the chief of Kharan, is said to have been summoned by Nadir Shah through the Khan of Kalat, presumably because the chief was under the Khan's sovereignty. But it was not till after 1751 that Kharan was completely brought under the control and power of the Khan of Kalat during the reign of Nasir Khan-I. Pottinger states that Kharan had practically become independent of Kalat some six years previous to his visit in 1810. This does not, however, appear to be correct, as during the subsequent reign, it was the Khan of Kalat who intervened to effect a reconciliation between the chief of Kharan and his people. It would, therefore, appear that Kharan continued to be under the sovereignty of Kalat until the succession of Azad Khan to the chiefship between the years 1831 and 1838. "Azad Khan's energy and policy was mainly directed to achieve the virtual independence of Kharan, and, though strictly speaking a feudatory of

* See *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, Kharan*, p. 31.

Kalat, he only acknowledged the Khan's authority when compelled, whilst his homage to Afghanistan was more professional than reality."* He did his utmost to foment troubles between the Khan of Kalat and the Brahui chiefs, and was mainly responsible for the repeated attempts made by the chiefs to throw off the Khan's Authority. Writing in 1870, the British Commissioner in Sind pointed out that "even during the late Khan's reign, and incessantly from the commencement of that of the present one, there have been elements of disorder always at hand in the shape of the ambitious projects of Azad Khan of Kharan and of the Jam of Beyla".

Acknowledgements of the authority of the Khan of Kalat.

23. In 1870, efforts were made by Sirdar Moolla Mohamed of Sarawan to bring about a settlement between Azad Khan and the Khan of Kalat, and the terms offered by him on behalf of Azad Khan, although rejected by the Khan, contained a clear and specific admission that Azad Khan was a subject of the Khan of Kalat. The terms ran as follows: "All inams and Jagheers in Sarawan and Jalawan granted to Sirdars Noordeen and Azad Khan Nowsherwanee, according to Sunnuds under the seals of His Highness the late Meer Mahomed Nuseer Khan and Meer Khodadad Khan, are to be wholly restored. Sirdar Moolla Mahomed agreed that he absolved His Highness the Khan of all responsibility on account of loss to person and property in Sarawan and Jalawan. That if from this day, Friday the 10th of Ramzan, any of the Brahooes did any ill or any act of hostility in the territory of His Highness the Khan, he would be given in charge of Moolla Mahomed Vakeel to be punished in any way I liked. *That whatever misdeeds*

* *Baluchistan District Gazetteer, Kharan* p. 37.

Sirdars Noordeen and Azad Khan have committed are forgiven, and the same would not be done in future. That His Highness the Khan was the sovereign and they the subjects."* The terms communicated by Nawab Mahomed Khan to the British Agent at Kalat also contained an unequivocal admission of the authority of the Khan of Kalat over Kharan. It was stated *inter alia* that "no notice is to be taken of the former rebellions caused by the Sirdars Noordeen and Azad Khan, and that for the future they will take no part in any disturbance of the country. In future we will, as in former years, always do his service and never be guilty of any disobedience." In 1872, Azad Khan of Kharan addressed a letter to the eldest son of the Khan of Kalat clearly admitting his subordination to the Khan. He said: "Your father is the Khan of Beloochistan, and he is responsible for good and evil that occurs in his country. Well, your father sent a force against me at Kharan and took away my people and slaves, the former he released but detained the latter. A governor of a country fights in every possible way, but does not make slaves of defeated people. Your father has acted in this way."

The Punjgur Settlement.

24. In 1883, as a result of the intervention of the British representative, a settlement was effected between the Khan and the chief of Kharan. Under this settlement Azad Khan acknowledged the supremacy of the Khan of Kalat and was recognized as one of the Sarawan Sirdars of the Kalat State.

Later on, as in the case of Las Bela, the British authorities started treating Kharan also more or less as a feudatory

* *Baluchistan*, No. 1, p. 106.

State; but this must be presumed to have been done purely for administrative convenience, which cannot affect the Khan's rights in any way.

The rights and powers of the Khan of Kalat in respect of Kharan.

25. In the light of the foregoing account, the Government of Kalat contend:

- (i) that Kharan has been and still is a part of the territories of the Kalat State;
- (ii) that the chief of Kharan is one of the Sarawan Sirdars of Kalat and is allotted a seat in the Darbars of the Khan of Kalat, and as such is a subject of the Kalat State;
- (iii) that the people of Kharan are subjects of the Kalat State;
- (iv) that the chief of Kharan exercises in Kharan certain powers of internal autonomy, subject to the authority of the Khan of Kalat.

The title of the Khan of Kalat in respect of Las Bela and Kharan.

26. The Government of Kalat contend that the title of the Khan of Kalat to territorial sovereignty over Las Bela and Kharan and the *fons et origo juris* of the Khan's authority are to be found in:

- (i) The acknowledgements on the part of the British Government. The use of such words as "sovereign of Baluchistan", "this important part of the kingdom", "the district of Las Bela" and "*de facto*

and *de jure* Ruler" clearly and unmistakably proves that the British Government accepted the title of the Khan to these territories.

(ii) Admissions on the part of the chief of Las Bela and Kharan of the authority of the Khan of Kalat. Such words as "subjects", "allegiance" and "by ancient descent king of the country" found in these admissions conclusively prove the claim of the Khan of Kalat.

(iii) *De facto* exercise of sovereignty within these territories, or, to use the words of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the *Eastern Greenland case*, "the display of sovereignty" and "the manifestation of the State activity". Such "display" to be found in the taking over the administration of Las Bela by the Khan of Kalat and the confiscation of the grants made in favour of the chief of Kharan. It is also to be found in the fact that the chiefs are allotted seats in the Darbars of the Khan.

Policy of the British Government regarding Kalat and the chiefs under its sovereignty.

27. The policy of the British Government regarding Kalat in relation to the chiefs under its sovereignty was outlined by the British Commissioner in Sind in his letter of the 1st May, 1869, to the Political Superintendent: "The Policy I would wish you to follow is that of friendly counsel to His Highness the Khan as the sole person in Beloochistan with whom we have any right or reason to communicate. That we are in no way entitled to interfere directly between him and his nobles and subjects; and to carry out this policy fairly and justly, it is above all things most important that

it should in no way be shown that we are meddling in the affairs of the country by identifying ourselves openly in the cause of those who are acting in opposition to him." The Commissioner was equally emphatic in his letter of the 5th April, 1872 to the Governor of Bombay. He said: "There cannot, in my opinion, be the least doubt what course should be followed with regard to *Khelat or Beloochistan*, as it should be correctly termed. His Highness the Khan is *de facto* and *de jure* Ruler of that country. . . . The chiefs must be made to understand that the Khan is regarded as their sovereign, and to him alone must they look for benefits to be conferred, grievances to be redressed; to feel that their interests and his are identical, and that anything that reduces his power or influence reflects injuriously on them; and to rest assured that acts of rebellion, such as they have hitherto engaged in on such improper and frivolous grounds, cannot and will not receive any countenance whatever from the British Government. They have hitherto been labouring under delusions; but now they should be informed that any repetition of such acts as they have committed will at once, and for ever, forfeit for them the favour of the British Government, as it will assuredly the approbation of all goodmen."* In his Minute of 10th February, 1871, the Governor of Bombay was equally clear. He wrote: "The policy therefore to be pursued seems to be that recommended by Sir W. Merewether and already approved by this Government, to acknowledge no authority but that of the Khan, to recognise the chiefs in no other capacity than his subjects, to abstain from all interference otherwise than by counselling forbearance and consideration, and to refrain from any recognition of feudal rights, which it is neither for our advantage nor the advantage of the country to perpetuate."

* *Baluchistan*, No. 1, p. 180.

Change of policy and direct intervention of the British Government.

28. This policy was, however, subsequently changed; and the British Government entered into direct engagements with the Jam of Las Bela under which the British Government took over supervisory powers of administration as well as the right to sanction succession to the chieftship of Las Bela. The first engagement was executed by Jam Ali Khan on his succession in 1889. This engagement bound the Jam to conduct the administration of Las Bela in accordance with the advice of the Agent to the Governor-General and to employ a Wazir approved by him. The Jam also undertook not to make any important change in the customs of the country or in the system of administration without the concurrence of the Agent to the Governor-General. A similar engagement was executed by Mir Kamal Khan on his succession in 1896. The engagement executed by Mir Ghulam Mohammad Khan in 1925 contained similar terms.

29. The British Government also began to deal directly with the chief of Kharan, and a settlement was with Azad Khan by which he undertook to do certain tribal service in consideration of an annual payment of Rs. 6,000. This settlement was continued with his successor on his demise. In 1909, another agreement was made between the British Government and the chief of Kharan. This was renewed in 1911.

Direct intervention of the British Government intended to be temporary.

30. The Government of Kalat contend that in spite of the inter-position of British authority in Las Bela and Kharan, the rights and powers of the Khan of Kalat in

and over these territories have continued to remain intact and unimpaired. The interposition of British authority was with the tacit consent of the Khan of Kalat and was introduced on grounds of expediency and for administrative reasons. Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, while approving of the change in the policy of the Government of India wrote as follows to the Governor-General in Council on the 8th July, 1875: "Much as Her Majesty's Government regret the distracted state of affairs in Kalat, they see no reason to question the justice of your opinion that it is due more to the inability of the Khan to control his subjects than to any hostile feeling on his part towards the British Government. . . . What may be the effect of withdrawing the subsidy from the Khan, and the establishment of direct relations with tribes which hitherto have been treated as nominally, if not really, under the suzerainty of His Highness, must be uncertain. . . . Should the measures now reported produce their anticipated results, Her Majesty's Government trust that an early opportunity may be taken of again placing the relations between the Government of India and the Khan of Kalat on the friendly footing provided for by the Treaty of 1854."

The claim of Kalat State.

31. In the light of the above statement, the Government of Kalat consider that the interposition of British authority in the affairs of Kalat was intended to be of a temporary character. Therefore, they claim that, on the termination of British power in India, the authority now exercised by the British Government in respect of Las Bela and Kharan should revert to the Khan of Kalat, and a definite declaration should be made in this behalf prior to the transfer of power in British India.

III. Claims in respect of the Marri and Bugti Tribes

The Marri-Bugti-country.

32. The territories occupied by the Marri and Bugti tribes are situated at the southern end of the Sulaiman range in Baluchistan. The northern portion, the area of which is about 3,200 square miles, is occupied by the Marris, and the southern portion, about 3,800 square miles, by the Bugtis.

Relations between Kalat and the tribes.

33. "At one time", wrote Sir Robert Sandeman, "not very long prior to British rule, the whole of Baloochistan from Hurrund (a town of Dera Ghazee Khan) to the sea, was under the sway of Nusseer Khan of Khelat, a chief noted for his justice and prowess. He kept the Murrees, Boogtees, and other tribes resident along the Kafil route from Central Asia, in as good order as he did the people of the plains. . . . When our officers in 1838 first became acquainted with this State, the government of the country was a confederacy of the Khan and nobles, and the Murrees, Boogtees, and Gurchanis were subjects of the Khanate. . . . The Murree, Boogtee and Gurchani clans, in the days of which I write, were included in the Sarawans, and they not only rendered feudal service to the State, but paid tribute to the Khan of Khelat."*

34. On Nasir Khan's death, the reins of authority were relaxed, and during the effete rule of his successor, the Marri and Bugti tribes extended their activities in all directions, and were at the same time engaged in a constant round of intrincine wars and bloodfeud. In 1845, Sir Charles Napier

* See *Baluchistan*, No. 1, pp. 4 and 253.

conducted a campaign against the Bugti, but the expedition was only partially successful. In 1847, Sir John Jacob settled some of the Bugtis on irrigated lands in Sind, but many of them shortly afterwards fled back to their native hills.

35. After the conclusion of the Treaty of 1854 between the British Government and the Khan of Kalat, both the tribes were subsidised by the Khan, but their conduct showed no improvement. The state of affairs in these tribal areas became so unsatisfactory that in 1859 the Khan of Kalat successfully occupying Dera Bugti and Kahan, the headquarters of the Marri tribe. The results, however, were not very satisfactory and the Khan was obliged to make a second expedition, in 1862, but without much beneficial result as the tribal raids and devastations continued.

The Punjab Policy.

36. "Previous to 1867, the Punjab authorities had attempted to control the Bugtis by enlisting into their service some of the subordinate chiefs with their clansmen, giving them land rent free, and places in the border militia. This policy, however, proved unsuccessful, partly owing to jealousies amongst the remaining chiefs who had not been dealt with similarly, and partly to the different policy pursued by the Sind Government towards the sections of these tribes on its own frontier. In 1867, Capt. Sandeman endeavoured to extend the same policy towards the Marris, who up to this time had been excluded from all friendly intercourse with the British. . . . Some success attended these measures so far as the Punjab frontier was concerned, but the tribes continued to raid the Sind border."*

* See Aitcheson, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. xi, p. 343.

Extension of the Punjab Policy.

37. In 1870, in view of the extremely unsatisfactory state of affairs, the question of the future management of the Marri and Bugti tribes was again taken into consideration by the British Government, and the Commissioner in Sind made the following proposal: "I would suggest that the plan, which has so far succeeded well on the Punjab frontier, should be taken, viz., that the principal chiefs and certain members of the Marri and Bugti tribes should be taken into pay. This, however, should be done in the name of the Khan, and whatever money had to be paid to these tribes should be disbursed through the Khan's officers."* This proposal was accepted, and the Secretary to the Government of Bombay wrote as follows to the Commissioner in Sind: "His Excellency in Council has already expressed his opinion that the payment to these tribes, which have been hitherto regarded as *Khelat* subjects, should be made in the name of the Khan. The services for which they are intended are almost entirely to be performed in *Khelat* territory. And while, on the one hand, no special advantages to Government appear to be derivable from direct payments, on the other hand, the authority of the Khan will be consolidated if these tribes are practically taught to look to him as their lawful sovereign. Direct payments would tend to reverse the policy, which has been acted on for many years, under which these tribes have been regarded as the Khan's subjects.**

The Kalat Darbar, 1876.

38. These measures could not, however, be adopted owing to the rebellion against the Khan, which broke out in

* *Baluchistan*, No. 2, p. 122.

** *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

October 1871, and the troubles which followed. It was, therefore, decided to put an end to the dual system of management from the Punjab and Sind. The conduct of the tribes was to be considered as a whole, and the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan was under the Commissioner in Sind, to be the medium of communications with the Marri and Bugtis. In November 1875, Capt. Sandeman was deputed to the hills to try and bring about an amicable settlement of the tribal quarrels. He succeeded in getting the Brahuis, Marri and Bugti chiefs to accompany him to Kalat and to attend a Darbar held by the Khan on the 4th January, 1876. On this occasion, Capt. Sandeman told the chiefs that "the day was a very auspicious one that had brought so many *Khelat* Chiefs and Sirdars to the feet of the ruler of the country." The position regarding the Marri chiefs was explained by the Khan of Kalat as follows: "Since former times you are my subjects and you were at one time loyal and true to the *Khelat* Government. Since you commenced your depredations, I have looked upon you merely as a set of thieves and scoundrels, but later you attacked my troops, killed them and captured my guns, since then I have looked upon you as a disloyal people. . . . When Shah Nawaz Khan opposed my father, Mir Mehrab Khan, the Murree Sirdar, Din Muhammad, joined him and did good service; and on this account my father, Mir Mehrab Khan, gave the jaghire of Tunia to the Murree Sirdar. For misconduct I afterwards confiscated this jaghire; but if you Murrees will give up your evil ways and will in future act honestly the jaghire of Tunia shall be restored to you."*

39. The results of the Darbar, however, were not entirely successful, as raids and rebellions continued.

* *Baluchistan*, No. 2, p. 122.

Capt. Sandeman was, therefore, dispatched on a second mission to Kalat in 1876, from which resulted the Treaty of Jacobabad and a reconciliation between the Khan and his rebellious Sirdars. It was then decided to continue to the Bugtis and Marris the allowances paid since 1875, and to deal with them independently of the Khan.

Acknowledgements of the authority of the Khan of Kalat.

40. The Government of Kalat contend that the Marri and Bugti tribes have been, and still are, the subjects of the Khan of Kalat, and the territories occupied by them still form part of the Kalat State. This position has been repeatedly accepted by the British Government. In his Minute of the 10th of February, 1871, the Governor of Bombay declared as follows: "It should be clear and unmistakeable that we recognise the Khan of Khelat as an independent sovereign with whom we have treaties of alliance, but with whose proceedings we do not desire to interfere beyond giving him friendly advice; that we should always counsel clemency and moderation in his dealings with his chiefs; but that in the case of Molla Mohamed, who had been engaged in repeated rebellions against his sovereign and had refused to accept the moderate terms on which pardon for his past offences and restoration of his hereditary property was offered, we see no reason to disapprove of the Khan's conducts."* Sir William Merewether, the British Commissioner in Sindh, was of the same view. In a letter to the Political Superintendent, Upper Sind Frontier, he wrote as follows in August 1781: "It would have been more correct and more in accordance with the relations existing between the British Government and His Highness the Khan of Khelat, if Capt. Sandeman had at the time remarked as above to Kurrum Khan; for it must be remem-

* *Baluchistan*, No. 1, p. 86.

bered that *whatever grievances the Murree tribe may fancy they have, they are the subjects of His Highness the Khan*; and it is not in accordance with the policy which has been approved by Government, nor is it just to a ruler with whom we are in alliance, that openly proclaimed opposition to that ruler's power, and the declaration of premediated outrages within his dominions, should be heard by the British Authorities without immediate expression of marked disapprobation." He took the same view in his memorandum of 9th May, 1872: "If there is to be peace and order in the country next to frontier of Sind, there must be a fixed Government and responsible ruler there. This would be impossible if the Sirdars are encouraged, as they lately were, in their resistance to their legitimate sovereign, and in their selfish endeavours to better only themselves. I maintain, therefore, that it is our true and the only reasonable policy to do all we can to strengthen the possession of His Highness the Khan of Khelat, and to show marked disapproval of the attempts of the Sirdars to subvert his authority. This being thoroughly understood by the latter, they would find it in their best interests to rally to the Khan, and endeavour to secure his favour in hopes of having ours also."* In a subsequent communication to the Government of India he was more emphatic: "The policy that has been followed from the first in regard to Khelat affairs was to avoid in every possible way direct interference in the general government. *His Highness the Khan, Meer Khodadad Khan, was 'de facto' and 'de jure' King of the country*, and we had no more right to dictate to him how he should manage his chiefs and subjects than we had with any other potentate ruling independently over a State. As long as he conformed to the terms of the treaty existing between his Government and that of Her

* *Baluchistan*, No. 1, p. 236.

Majesty in India, and as long as our territory was free from aggression, or from disturbances caused by his subjects, we were bound to respect his right to rule in his own country as to him seemed best."** The same view was taken by the Government of India: "His Excellency in Council wishes to see the Khan's authority firmly established throughout the length and breadth of his dominions; that the British Government will encourage him by their advice and countenance in all lawful endeavours towards this end; that they will favour with no countenance or support whatever, but, on the contrary, will regard with strong displeasure any of his subjects, whether Sirdars or ryots, who rebel against or endeavour to subvert his legitimate authority; and that the Sirdars will best consult their own interest and the interests of their ryots, and will most surely secure the favour of the British Government by assisting heartily in the establishment of peace and good order, in protecting traders and putting down robbery and violence."*** The position was also repeatedly acknowledged by the tribes themselves. For instance, the chief of the Marri tribes made the following statement before Capt. Sandeman in 1872: "I beg the Government not to ask what is impossible from me. I have not the power single-handed to deal with Sher Dil and the Khott Mundai Murrees; the reason I can explain. The Khott Mundai Murrees were formerly kept in check, but the Murree Tomandar was then aided by the Khan's Government, and a Sirdar of the tribe lived at Mundai whose duty it was to make arrangements in the Khan's name for the protection of the country. For instance, my cousin Gaman Khan, I can name as one who aided the Khan in this way. The Khan allowed the Murree chiefs Rs. 12,000 yearly for the purpose of employing the minor chiefs according to their

* *Baluchistan*, No. 1, p. 409.

** *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

position in the tribe in keeping order. In addition to this, the Sirdars of the clan got from the Khan the village of Tunia in Jagir; all the arrangements were made in the Khan's name and performed properly, for *he is the (wali) ruler of the country.*"

The claims of Kalat.

41. In the circumstances stated above, the Government of Kalat would urge that on the termination of the British authority in India, the powers now exercised by the officers of the British Government in relation to the Marri and Bugti tribes should revert to the Khan of Kalat, and that the territories occupied by these tribes should be exclusively under the authority of the Khan.

ANNEXURE A

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND NUSSEER KHAN, CHIEF OF KHELAT, CONCLUDED ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BY MAJOR JOHN JACOB, C.B., IN VIRTUE OF FULL POWERS GRANTED BY THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, KT., ETC., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, AND BY MEER NUSSEER KHAN, CHIEF OF KHELAT, 1854.

Whereas the course of events has made it expedient that a new agreement should be concluded between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, the following Articles have been agreed on between the said government and His Highness:

ARTICLE 1

The Treaty concluded by Major Outram between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, on the 6th October 1841, is hereby annulled.

ARTICLE 2

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, his heirs and successors.

ARTICLE 3

Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors to oppose to the utmost all the enemies of the British Government, in all cases to act in subordinate co-operation with that Government, and to enter into no negotiation with other States without its consent, the usual friendly correspondence with neighbours being continued as before.

ARTICLE 4

Should it be deemed necessary to station British troops in any part of the territory of Khelat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by the British authorities.

ARTICLE 5

Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors to prevent all plundering or other outrage by his subjects within or near British territory; to protect the passage of merchants to and fro between the British dominions and Afghanistan, whether by way of Sindh or by the seaport of Soumeeanee, or other seaports of Mekran, and to permit no exactions to be made beyond an equitable duty to be fixed by the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, and the amount to be shown in the Schedule annexed to this treaty.

ARTICLE 6

To aid Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, in the fulfilment of these obligations; and on condition of a faithful performance of them year by year, the British Government binds itself to pay to Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs, and successors an annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's Rupees.

ARTICLE 7

If during any year, the conditions above mentioned shall not be faithfully performed by the said Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, then the annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's Rupees will not be paid by the British Government.

ANNEXURE B

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE
KHELAT STATE, 1876.

Whereas it has become expedient to renew the Treaty of 1854, between the British Government and Nasseer Khan, Khan of Khelat, and to supplement the same by certain additional provisions calculated to draw closer the bonds of friendship and amity between the two Governments, the following additional Articles are herewith agreed upon between the Right Honourable Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Baron Lytton of Knebworth, in the County of Hertford, and a Baronet of the United Kingdom, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and Grand Master of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, on behalf of the British Government on the one hand, and His Highness Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, on the other:

ARTICLE 1

The Treaty concluded between the British Government and Meer Nasseer Khan, Khan of Khelat, on the 14th of May 1854, is hereby renewed and re-affirmed.

ARTICLE 2

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government and Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, his heirs, and successors.

ARTICLE 3

Whilst on his part, Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, binds himself, his heirs, successors, and Sirdars, to observe faithfully the provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty of 1854, the British Government on its part engages to respect the independence of Khelat, and to aid the Khan, in case of need, in the maintenance of a just authority and the protection of his territories from external attack, by such means as the British Government may at the moment deem expedient.

ARTICLE 4

For the further consolidation of the friendship herewith renewed and re-affirmed between the two Governments, it is agreed on the one hand that British Agents with suitable escorts shall be duly accredited by the British Government to reside permanently at the Court of the Khan and elsewhere in His Highness' dominions; and on the other hand, that a suitable representative shall be duly accredited by His Highness to the Government of India.

ARTICLE 5

It is hereby agreed that should any disputes, calculated to disturb the peace of the country, arise hereafter between

the Khan and the Sirdars of Khelat, the British Agent at the Court of His Highness shall in the first place use his good offices with both parties to effect by friendly advice an amicable arrangement between them, failing which the Khan will, with the consent of the British Government, submit such dispute to its arbitration, and accept and faithfully execute its award.

ARTICLE 6

Whereas the Khan of Khelat has expressed a desire on the part of himself and his Sirdars, for the presence in his country of a detachment of British troops, the British Government, in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of 1854, and in recognition of the intimate relations existing between the two countries, hereby assents to the request of His Highness, on condition that the troops shall be stationed in such positions as the British Government may deem expedient, and be withdrawn at the pleasure of that Government.

ARTICLE 7

It is also agreed that such lines of telegraph or railways as may be beneficial to the interests of the two Governments shall be from time to time constructed by the British Government in the territories of the Khan, provided that the conditions of such construction be a matter of previous arrangement between that Government and the Government of His Highness.

ARTICLE 8

There shall be entire freedom of trade between the State of Khelat and the territories of the British Government, subject to such conditions as the British Government

may, at any time, in concert with the Khan of Khelat, deem necessary for the protection of fiscal interests.

ARTICLE 9

To aid Meer Khodadad Khan, his heirs, and successors, in the efficient fulfilment of the obligations contracted by them under the Treaty of 1854, and the present supplementary engagement, the British Government hereby undertakes to pay to the said Khan, his heirs, and successors an annual sum of one lakh of rupees, so long as they shall faithfully adhere to the engagements heretofore and hereby contracted.

ARTICLE 10

The British Government further undertakes to contribute Rupees twenty thousand five hundred annually towards the establishment of posts and development of traffic along the trade routes in His Highness' territories provided such money is expended by the Khan in the manner approved of by the British Government.

Appendix XV

RETROCESSION OF QUETTA, NUSHKI
AND NASIRABAD

[Prepared by Sir Sultan Ahmed Khan and presented by
the Quaid-e-Azam to the Cabinet Mission]

The Quetta Agreement of 1883 (Annexure A).

1. Article 6 of the Kalat Treaty of 1876 reads thus:
"Whereas the Khan of Khelat has expressed a desire on the

part of himself and his Sirdars for the presence in his country of a detachment of British troops, the British Government, in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of 1854, and in recognition of the intimate relations existing between the two countries, hereby assents to the request of His Highness on condition that the troops shall be stationed in such positions as the British Government may deem expedient, and be withdrawn at the pleasure of that Government." Dealing with this Article, the Governor-General-in-Council wrote as follows to the Secretary of State for India on the 20th of March, 1877: "Had the question before us in connection with this article been whether we should now, even in compliance with the concurrent desire of the Khan, the Sirdars, and the tribes, introduce British troops into the Khanate, we might have hesitated before assenting to such a measure. But the troops of the British Government were already in Khelat, where their presence was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants of the country. . . . Under all these circumstances we deemed it wise to give practical effect to an arrangement contemplated by the Treaty of 1854, and completely in accordance with the provisions and intentions of that Treaty." The British Government, therefore, selected Quetta in preference to Kalat for the headquarters of the detachment of British troops both for military and political reasons. In 1879, it was agreed that the district and *niabat* of Quetta should be administered by British officers on certain conditions and for a certain period, any surplus revenue being made over to the Khan. This was replaced by an agreement concluded in 1883 between the Khan and the British Government, and the existing arrangements are governed by this agreement under which the Khan of Kalat made over and entrusted to the British Government "the entire management of the Quetta district and *niabat* absolutely and with all the

rights and privileges as well as full revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration" on the express condition that the district and *niabat* would be administered on behalf of the British Government by such officer or officers as the Governor-General-in-Council may appoint for the purpose. The British Government undertook to pay to the Khan a fixed annual rent of Rs. 25,000 "so long as the said district and *niabat* are administered by the British Government". Under this agreement, the Khan also ceded to the British Government full civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration within the limits of the Bolan Pass as well as his rights to levy dues or tolls on the trade travelling through the Bolan to and from British India and Afghanistan, as well as to and from Kachi and Khorasan, or the trade travelling to and from British India and the districts of Sibi, Quetta and Pishin. In return for this concession, the British Government agreed to pay to the Khan the sum of Rs. 30,000 per annum, free of deductions.

The Nushki Agreement of 1899 (Annexure B).

2. A similar agreement was concluded with the Khan in 1899 whereby the Khan of Kalat made over and entrusted to the British Government "in perpetuity, the entire management of the Nushki district and *niabat* absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, State or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration including all rights to levy dues and tolls" on the specific condition that the district and *niabat* would be administered on behalf of the British Government by or through such officer or officers as the Governor-General-in-Council may appoint for the purpose. The British Government, on their part, undertook to pay to the Khan

a fixed annual rent of Rs. 9,000, free of deductions on account of the cost of administration.

The Nasirabad Agreement of 1903 (Annexure C).

3. Under an agreement entered into with the British Government in 1903, the Khan of Kalat made over and ceded "in perpetuity, to the British Government the entire management of the Nasirabad *niabat* absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, State or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls" on the specific condition that the *niabat* would be administered on behalf of the British Government by or through such officer or officers as the Governor-General-in-Council may appoint for the purpose. The British Government, on their part, engaged themselves to pay to the Khan a fixed annual rent of Rs. 115,000, free of deduction on account of the cost of administration. A portion of the Manjuti lands specified in the agreement was also ceded to the British Government on the same conditions for a fixed annual rent of Rs. 2,500. The Khan also agreed to make over on lease, in perpetuity, the lands in the Lehri Bhag and Gandawa *niabats* that may hereafter be found to be irrigable from existing British canals at a fair quit-rent.

The Nature and Incidents of the Agreements.

4. Strictly speaking, none of these arrangements is in the nature of a lease. All of them purport to convey the "entire management" to the British Government of the districts and *niabats* in question together with "all powers of administration". There was, therefore, merely the cession of the "powers of government". It is, no doubt, true that the

word "rent" is used in all these agreements, but this does not alter the nature of the cession. In fact, in the Quetta Agreement, the term "rent" has been used for "a fair average equivalent of His Highness the Khan's right to the annual net surplus of the revenues". Similar description appears in the Nushki Agreement. The question of lease only arises in the case of the Manjuti lands and the lands in Lehri Bhag and Gandawa *niabats*. In respect of all other areas, the agreements are in the nature of an administrative arrangement between the British Government and the Khan of Kalat for certain specific purposes, and the following incidents inevitably flow from them:

- (i) sovereignty remains with the Khan of Kalat;
- (ii) the territories covered by the agreements continue to be part of the State of Kalat;
- (iii) all powers of administration are vested in the British Government; and
- (iv) the British Government are in actual possession of the territories.

These agreements would, therefore, appear to be analogous to the arrangements approved by international usage whereby one State actually exercises sovereignty which is, in law, vested in another State. As Oppenheim points out, this is the "case of the administration of a piece of territory by a foreign power, with the consent of the owner-State". Thus, in 1878, the island of Cyprus was occupied and administered by Great Britain, subject to certain reservations in favour of the Sultan, to the payment of £92,800 out of the net revenue and to the formal sovereignty of Turkey. Again, after 1878 the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herze-

govina were for some time occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary subject to the sovereignty of Turkey. Oppenheim is of the view that "in these cases a cession of pieces of territory had for all practical purposes taken place, although in law they still belonged to the former owner-State". He, however, clearly distinguishes these cases from those where pieces of territories are leased or pledged by the owner-State to a foreign power.* In the *Secretary of State v. Sardar Rustom Khan* [(1941) A. C. 372], the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council appear to have taken the view that the Nasirabad agreement was in the nature of a lease. Lord Atkin, delivering the judgment of the court said: "It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the treaty to see what its juristic effect was. According to plaintiffs, it was merely what their counsel styled 'a commercial contract' intended only to effect a more convenient method of collecting revenue, and granting powers only for that object." Their Lordships cannot take this view. It is opposed to the plain wording of the document, and to the obvious construction when the treaty is regarded as a whole. "Cedes in perpetuity.....the entire management of the Nasirabad Niabat absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, state or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration" are words creating rights between two sovereign States which were never yet found in any mere commercial agreement. It is true that the right ceded is the entire "management", and the consideration is an annual rent, and, as is made clearer in para 4 of the treaty, the transaction is in fact a perpetual lease of the territory at a quit rent. Nevertheless, the sovereign of Kalat made over to the British State the whole of his sovereign rights, though as

* Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vol. 1, p. 353. See also Pitt Cobbett, *Leading Cases on International Law*, p. 118.

the cession takes the form of a lease the territory does not pass so as to become part of the British Dominions, but still remains Kalat territory. The Government therefore are entitled to rely, if necessary, upon the provisions of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, s.i. "It is and shall be lawful for Her Majesty the Queen to hold, exercise, and enjoy any jurisdiction which Her Majesty now has or may at any time hereafter have within a foreign country in the same and as ample a manner as if Her Majesty had acquired that jurisdiction by the cession or conquest of territory." The judgment specifically refers to para 4 of the agreement. This para undoubtedly relates to leases of certain specified areas but has no connection with the cession of the powers of administration. However, whatever be the nature of the agreements, the result is the same. All these agreements, whether they be construed as a lease or not, were agreements personal to the British Government. This is made perfectly clear in the agreements themselves by an express provision that the management in the territories in question was ceded on the specific condition that such management would be on behalf of the British Government. Therefore, no successor Government or Governments in British India can claim to be subrogated to the rights and obligations arising under these agreements. As Hall points out, "the fact of the personality of a State is the key to the answer. With rights which have been acquired, and the obligations which have been contracted, by the old State as personal rights and obligations the new State has nothing to do."* It follows, therefore, that as soon as the management on behalf of the British Government comes to an end, the agreements cease to have any validity and all rights and powers ceded to the British Government revert to the Khan of Kalat.

* Hall, *International Law*, p. 93.

Retrocession and delivery of possession necessary.

5. For the reasons stated above, reversion of the rights of the Khanate in respect of these territories on the cessation of British power in India, cannot be questioned. This, however, is not sufficient. A specific declaration of retrocession is necessary before the transfer of power takes place and there should be a simultaneous delivery of possession; as an agreement to retrocede is not sufficient by itself. It is a recognized principle of International Law that if the ceded territory is not already in the possession of the cessionary State, the act of delivery must supplement the conventional disposition before the latter can exercise full sovereignty in it as well as over it. In the American case, *Davis v. Police Jury of Cordia* (9 Howard, 280, at p. 289), the Court observed as follows: "It is true that in a treaty for the cession of territory its national character continues for all commercial purposes; but full sovereignty for the exercise of it does not pass to the nation to which it is transferred until actual delivery. But it is also true that the exercise of sovereignty by the ceding country ceases, except for strictly municipal purposes, especially for granting lands. And for the same reason in both cases; because after the treaty is made there is not in either the union of possession and the right to the territory which must concur to give *plenum dominium et utile*. To give that there must be the *jus in rem* and the *jus in re*, or what is called in the common law of England the *juris et seisinæ conjunctio*." The principle laid down in this case is completely in accord with international practice and usage. Formal delivery of possession has always been considered essential wherever the ceded territory is not in the possession of the cessionary State. By Article 2 of the Treaty of April 30, 1803, France ceded Louisiana to the United States, and the province was

actually surrendered to the United States on December 30, 1803. The *process verbal* of formal delivery recited that the commissioners of the two high contracting parties met in the city hall and that the French commissioner delivered to the commissioners of the United States "the keys of the city of New Orleans".* Under the Treaty of February 22, 1819, Spain ceded to the United States "in full property and sovereignty" the territories known as East and West Florida. Article 7 of the Treaty expressly provided that the territories in question would be evacuated by Spain within six months after the exchange of the ratifications, and possession would be delivered to the representatives of the United States. Accordingly, the royal order for the delivery of the territories to the United States was signed by the King of Spain on October 24, 1820. Actual delivery of possession was also considered necessary when Russia ceded Alaska to the United States of America in 1867. The formal delivery was made at Sitka on October 26, 1867. The *proces verbal* stated that the Russian representative had delivered to the Commissioner of the United States "the Government archives, papers and documents relating to the property and dominion abovenamed, also the forts and public buildings, including the governor's house, dock-yards, block-houses, barracks, hospitals, wharves and schools". The Treaty of Paris of 1815 also specifically provided for formal delivery of possession of the territories ceded by France under Article IX of the Additional Convention which read as follows: "The territories which, according to that treaty, are to be ceded to the Allies as well as the fortresses of Landau and Sarre-Louis shall be delivered by the French authorities and troops in ten days from the date of the signing of the treaty." Similarly,

* Vide American State Papers, Foreign Relations, II, pp. 581-582 cited in Moore, *Digest of International Law*, p. 281.

the Treaty of Vienna of 1866 included an express provision for the evacuation of the ceded territories. Under the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, China ceded to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty certain territories, and an express provision was made in the treaty that the final transfer of the territories should be effected within a specified period of time. The United States of America secured the Philippine Islands from Spain under the Treaty of Paris of 1898. The Treaty contained a specific provision dealing with the question of transfer of possession. In all these cases, mere cession under a treaty was not considered sufficient, and provision was, therefore, made for the actual transfer of possession. All publicists agree that formal cession must be followed by actual delivery of possession. Oppenheim, for instance, says: "The treaty of cession must be followed by actual tradition of the territory to the new owner-State, unless such territory is already occupied by the new owner, as in the case where the cession is the outcome of war and the ceded territory has been during such war in the military occupation of the State to which it is now ceded. But the validity of the cession does not depend upon tradition, the cession being completed by ratification of the treaty of cession, and thus enabling the new owner to cede the acquired territory to a third State at once without taking actual possession of it. But of course the new owner-State cannot exercise its territorial supremacy thereon until it has taken physical possession of the cede(d) territory."* The same view has been taken by the Permanent Court of International Justice in its judgments on *German Interest in Polish Upper Silesia* (1926) and on *the Lighthouses in Crete and Samos* (1937). It follows as a logical corollary that the same principle is applicable to cases of retrocession.

* Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vol. 1, p. 433. See also Heffter, *Das Europaisches Volkerrecht*, p. 69.

6. For the reasons set forth above, the Government of Kalat would strongly urge that it is imperatively necessary that before the British Government hand over power in India, they should formally declare that they relinquish or retrocede all their powers and authority in and over the *niabats* and districts of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad under the agreements of 1883, 1889 and 1903. This should be followed by the actual delivery of possession. If these were not done, enormous legal and administrative difficulties would arise, as all officers and courts functioning in the territories in question would, after the date of transfer, be acting without any lawful authority. "The rights and powers of sovereignty of a nation over its territory cease on the transfer of that sovereignty to another government by a cession of the territory. The power to preserve peace and order may remain in the officers previously appointed by the ceding State until the actual presence of the agents of the succeeding government, but this does not imply that sovereign power remains in the former nation."* Thus it was held that when Spain's sovereignty was withdrawn from Porto Rico, the Spanish Governor-General and all other officers of the Crown of Spain, whose authority consisted in the exercise of royal prerogatives delegated to them, ceased to exercise such authority. A similar view was taken when the Islands of Hawaii were annexed to the United States. It was held that after the annexation, the officials of Hawaii were without power to convey a title, legal or equitable to public lands. Although in the present case there was no cession of sovereignty and consequently there would be no transfer of sovereignty on the termination of the British power in India, all rights and powers ceded to the British Government will re-vest in the Khan of Kalat, and similar

* Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 306, citing *United States v. Reynes*, 9 Howard, 127.

results will follow. It is equally clear that after the date of transfer, the successor Government or Governments in India would not be competent to legalise the acts of officers continuing to function in the territories of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad, as all powers and authority would *de jure* revert to the Khan of Kalat in consequence of the fact that all agreements between the British Government and the Khan of Kalat would cease to be operative on the transference of power in India. Nor could the Government of Kalat confer any authority on such officers as they would not be *seised* of the territories unless actual delivery of possession was effected.

The Government of Kalat would like to add that if the successor Government or Governments in India desire to come to an arrangement with the State of Kalat in respect of any of these territories, they would be fully prepared to consider any reasonable proposals in this behalf; but justice and equity demand that the Khan of Kalat should be placed in the same position as he had prior to the agreements with the British Government.

Consultation of the wishes of the people, not necessary.

7. It may be urged that the wishes of the people of the territories in question should be consulted before the retrocession of possession is effected. There are, no doubt, interesting precedents in support of this contention, but these do not prove that consultation of the wishes of the people has become or is likely to become a recognized part of international usage. As Hall points out, "the principle that the wishes of a population are to be consulted when the territory which they inhabit is ceded has not been adopted into International Law". (Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 49.) The policy and practice of many

leading States are against the procedure. The United States of America has always been opposed to the use of the procedure in the case of her acquisitions whether as a result of war or peaceable negotiation. When the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States and a protest was lodged by Japan on the ground that only a small fraction of the population favoured the annexation, the American Secretary of State wrote to the Japanese Minister as follows: "It cannot be that one so well informed in the history of international relations as Count Okuma could have wished to suggest thereby the propriety of appealing from the action of the Government to 'the population'. In International comity and practice, the will of a nation is ascertained through the established and recognised Government; and it is only through it that the nation can speak. This is shown in the relations of the United States with Japan. The first intercourse of this Government with the Empire was had, with an authority which held a divided, if not disputed, sovereignty. Later, when all power and legislation was centred in the Emperor, this Government recognised him as the sole exponent of the public will." (Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 274.) As regards Great Britain, an authoritative declaration was made by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords that "the plebiscite is not among the traditions of this country." It should, therefore, be evident that consultation of the wishes of people is not required by international usage and practice. Further, in the case of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad, the question of transfer of population does not arise as the sovereignty of the Kalat State has remained intact and unimpaired over the territories entrusted to the administration of the British Government, and consequently the retrocession will not involve any change of nationality. The Government of Kalat would also point out that if British subjects of Indian origin have settled in

these districts and *niabats*, they have done so with a full knowledge of the fact that the territories are not a part of British India and that the sovereignty over the areas is still vested in the Khan of Kalat. They can have, therefore, no well-founded complaint if only the usual and legitimate results flow from the *factum* of the sovereignty of the Khanate.

8. Finally, the Government of Kalat would suggest that the British Government while retroceding the territories in question should agree to cede to the Government of Kalat, free of charge, all public domain of the British Government, *i.e.*, the property exclusively used for the public service in the territories of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad, as well as all official archives and records, both executive and judicial, which relate to the aforesaid territories or the rights and property of the inhabitants therein. This is in accord with international usage and practice. The Government of Kalat would, on their part, be prepared to issue a proclamation declaring:

- (i) that the retrocession shall not affect the nationality of British subjects of Indian origin inhabiting the territories of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad.
- (ii) that the inhabitants of the aforesaid territories shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion in so far as it is not incompatible with good order and the fundamental dictates of morality;
- (iii) that the retrocession shall not in any respect impair the property or rights, which by law belong to the peaceful possession of property of all kinds, of

municipalities, public or private establishments, ecclesiastical or civil bodies, or any other associations having legal capacities to acquire and possess property in the aforesaid territories, or of private individuals, of whatsoever nationality such individuals may be;

(iv) that judicial proceedings pending at the time of the retrocession shall be determined in accordance with the following rules:

(a) Judgements rendered either in civil suits between private individuals or in criminal matters, before the aforesaid date, and with respect to which there is no appeal or right of review under the laws in force in the aforesaid territories prior to the date of retrocession, shall be deemed to be final, and shall be executed in due form by competent authority.

(b) Civil suits between private individuals which may on the aforesaid date be undetermined shall be prosecuted to judgement before the court in which they may then be pending, or in the court that may be substituted therefor.

(c) Criminal actions pending on the aforesaid date before the highest criminal court exercising jurisdiction prior to the retrocession of the aforesaid territories shall continue under its jurisdiction until final judgement; but, such

judgement having been rendered, the execution thereof shall be committed to the competent authority.

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Barrister-at-Law.

ANNEXURE A

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KELAT MIR KHUDADAD KHAN ON THE ONE PART AND BY SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN, K.C.S.I., AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN, ON THE OTHER PART, SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY-IN-COUNCIL EXECUTED AT THE DASHT PLAIN ON THE 8TH DAY OF JUNE 1883.

Whereas in the year 1879 an arrangement was finally agreed to between the British Government and His Highness Mir Khudadad Khan of Kelat by which the district and niabat of Quetta were placed under the administration of the British Government on certain conditions and for a certain period, and whereas the period fixed by the said arrangement is almost expired, and whereas it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both Governments that the district

and Niabat of Quetta should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, and whereas it appears desirable to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and to His Highness the Khan of Kelat, that a similar arrangement should be made regarding the levy of dues and other matters connected therewith in the Bolan Pass in consideration of the losses suffered by His Highness the Khan of Kelat owing to the opening of the Hurnai route by the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed [to] as follows:

1. Mir Khudadad Khan of Kelat on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors hereby makes over and entrusts the entire management of the Quetta District and Niabat absolutely and with all the rights and privileges as well as full revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration, to the British Government with effect from 1st April 1883 on the following conditions:

- (1) That the said District and Niabat shall be administered on behalf of the British Government by such officer or officers as the Governor-General-in-Council may appoint for the purpose.
- (2) That in lieu of the annual surplus of revenue hitherto paid to His Highness the Khan under the arrangement of 1879 above cited, the British Government shall pay to His Highness on the 31st March in every year, beginning from the 1st March 1884, a fixed annual rent of Rupees 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) which has been settled as a fair average equivalent of His Highness the Khan's right to the annual net surplus of the revenues of the said District and Niabat.

- (3) The aforesaid sum of Rupees 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) shall be paid to His Highness without any deductions for cost of administration, so long as the said District and Niabat are administered by the British Government.

2. His Highness the Khan hereby transfers to the British Government absolutely, with effect from the 1st day of April 1883, all his rights to levy dues or tolls on the trade travelling through the Bolan to and from British India and Afghanistan, as well as to and from Kachi and Khorasan, as provided by the Treaty of 1854, or on the trade travelling to and from British India and the districts of Sibi, Quetta and Pishin.

3. In return for the concession last mentioned, the British Government agree to pay to His Highness the Khan the sum of Rs. 30,000 (thirty-thousand) per annum free of all deductions, in two half-yearly instalments, on the 1st October and 1st April of each year beginning from the 1st October 1883. In addition, the Viceroy and Governor General agrees to pay to the Sarawan and Kurd Sirdars a fixed sum yearly for certain service in the Pass representing their shares respectively of the transit and escort fees.

4. In order to facilitate the arrangements of the British Government for the collection of tolls on its own behalf in the Bolan Pass, His Highness the Khan hereby cedes to the British Government full civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration within the limits of the said pass and within the land purchased by the British Government at Rindali for a railway station and other buildings.

ANNEXURE B

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KALAT, MIR MAHMUD KHAN, G.C.I.E., ON THE ONE PART, AND BY COLONEL HENRY WYLIE, C.S.I., OFFICIATING AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN, ON THE OTHER PART, SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY IN COUNCIL, 1899.

Executed at Kalat on the first day of July, 1899.

Whereas it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both the British Government and His Highness Mir Mahmud Khan, Khan of Kalat, that the District and Niabat of Nushki should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed [to] as follows:

Mir Mahmud, Khan of Kalat, on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors, hereby makes over and entrusts, in perpetuity, the entire management of the Nushki District and Niabat absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, state or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls, to the British Government with effect from the 1st July 1899 on the following conditions:

- (1) that the said district and Niabat shall be administered on behalf of the British Government by or through such officer or officers as the Governor-General in Council may appoint for the purpose;
- (2) that the British Government shall pay to His Highness, on the 1st September 1899, and thereafter annually on the 1st September, a fixed annual rent of Rs. 9,000, nine-thousand only, which has

- been settled as a fair average equivalent of His Highness the Khan's right to the annual revenues of the said District and Niabat; and
- (3) that the aforesaid sum of Rs. 9,000, nine thousand only, shall be paid to His Highness without any deduction for cost of administration.

ANNEXURE C

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KALAT, MIR MAHMUD KHAN, G.C.I.E., ON THE ONE PART, AND BY THE HON'BLE COLONEL C.E. YATE, G.S.I., C.M.G., AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN, ON THE OTHER PART, SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, 1903.

Executed at Sibi, on the seventeenth day of February one thousand nine hundred and three.

I. Whereas it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both the British Government and His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., Khan of Kalat, that the Niabat of Nasirabad should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows:

His Highness Mir Mahmud Khan, Khan of Kalat, on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors, hereby makes over and cedes in perpetuity to the British Government the entire management of the Nasirabad Niabat absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, state or personal, as well as full and exclusive, revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls on the following conditions:

- (i) That the said Niabat shall be administered on behalf of the British Government by or through such officer or officers as the Governor-General in Council may appoint for the purpose, with effect from the first day of April one thousand nine hundred and three, or such subsequent date as the Government of India may take it over.
- (ii) That the British Government shall pay to His Highness on the first day of April one thousand nine hundred and four and thereafter annually on the first day of April, each year, a fixed annual rent Rs. 1,15,000 (one lac and fifteen thousand).
- (iii) That the aforesaid sum of Rs. 1,15,000 (one lac and fifteen thousand) shall be paid to His Highness without any deduction for cost of administration.

II. The boundary of the Nasirabad Niabat as described by His Highness the Khan of Kalat's Naib, Ghaus Bakhsh, in July 1902 is as follows:

On the south the Sind border, on the north commencing east-wards at the Leni Burj it runs north-eastwards along the Mazari Border to the Bugti hills. It follows the foot of these hills running in a westerly direction to their nearest point to the Shahpur road near the Manak Garhi Nullah. It then follows this nullah as far as the Shahpur road, then follows the Shahpur road south as far as the Deh Chattan lands (generally known as Dodaika) and then turns west following the boundary of Dodaika to the Nurwah channel above the point to where the water reaches. It then follows the Nurwah as far as the junction of the latter with the Dur Muhammad Wah, which is shown on most maps as the Shahiwah, a continuation of the main desert canal. From this point it follows the Dur Muhammad Wah right along its

course to the west and south-west, crossing the railway at mile 368, five miles north of Jhatpat station, until it meets the line of pillars erected about four years ago by the Magassis and Jamalis as their mutual boundary. It then follows this line of pillars southwards to the Sind border passing about 500 yards to the west of the point where the Sonwah has been closed.

III. Whereas it is possible that the lower portion of the Manjuti lands enclosed by a straight line drawn from the place where the Dur Muhammad Wah crosses the railway near mile 368, to a point on the Jacobabad-Shahpur road, 8 miles to the north of where the Dur Muhammad Wah crossed that road, may hereafter be brought under irrigation, His Highness the Khan of Kalat thereby agrees on behalf of British Government in perpetuity that portion of the Manjuti land in the same manner as the Nasirabad Niabat above referred to, and it is hereby agreed that the British Government shall pay to His Highness annually an additional rent of Rupees two thousand five hundred making a total quit-rent of Rs. 1,17,500 to be paid on the first day of April one thousand nine hundred and four and subsequent years.

IV. And whereas it is advisable that any further Kalat State lands outside the present boundary of the Nasirabad Niabat which may hereafter possibly be brought under irrigation by branches and extensions from existing British canal should also come under British administration in the same manner as the Nasirabad Niabat above referred to, His Highness the Khan agrees to make over on lease in perpetuity any lands in the Lehri Bhag and Gandawa Niabats that may hereafter be found to be irrigable from existing British canals at a fair quit-rent which can be determined when the surveys have been completed.

Appendix XVI

(1)

Quetta,
29th June, 1943.

Your Highness,

I am extremely thankful to you for your letter of the 24th instant, and I immensely appreciate your welcome to me to Baluchistan. I had a long wish to establish my contact with this historical part of the country; and at last I am here to see for myself the people and breathe the dry but pleasant air of this land. The country although is dry with its barren hills, but if not neglected, can be made into most wonderful land.

As regards your very kind invitation to go and stay with you at Kalat as your guest, I shall be honoured to have that opportunity and accept your invitation with great pleasure. I can get to Kalat on the 10th July and can stay with you for a couple of days. I shall be accompanied by my sister, my Secretary, and two personal servants. Please let me know, if this date will suit your Highness.

Thanking you, with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(sd.) M. A. Jinnah

His Highness Mir Ahmed Yar Khan,
Kalat.

(2)

Quetta,
13th July, 1943.

Your Highness,

In the first place let me most cordially thank you for your brotherly hospitality; and I enjoyed my stay with you thoroughly and I shall always remember Kalat and Chapar where I spent my three days in your company of completely friendly atmosphere.

With regard to Deku, well, I am extremely thankful to you for sending him to me because you think he took great liking to me. I am afraid I cannot deprive you of him, it may be a temporary phase on his part; besides it is very difficult for me to take him about just now as I am going from place to place, and this time of the year it would be unkind to take him along in the heat of Karachi, Bombay and Delhi as he is not acclimatized; but Miss Fatima Jinnah would be thankful to you if you give a puppy of the next litter as you were good enough to promise, and we will arrange that it should be sent to us when we settle down at Delhi direct.

Thanking you once more, with best *salaams* from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,

(sd.) M. A. Jinnah

P.S. However I am keeping Deku here for a few days till you arrive here. Looking forward to meet you soon.

M. A. J.

(3)

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

April 14th, 1945.

Your Highness,

I have not written to you for a long time; but I have always made enquiries, and I was glad to hear that you were keeping well and happy. The reason why I am troubling you with this letter is that, as you perhaps know, I had a very bad breakdown recently. Although I am much better now, I am strictly ordered by my doctors to have complete rest for at least two to three months. According to their advice, I am going to a small hill station near Bombay within a couple of days, and I shall stay there till about the first week of June, but I am strongly advised that I should not stay in Bombay during the monsoon. But there is no place in this Presidency where one can go and stay and avoid the effects of the monsoon, as you know it rains very heavily on this side, and I have been urged by my doctors that I must get to some temperate and dry climate, and they all unanimously recommend Quetta as the best place in June, July and August. I am therefore wondering whether you can conveniently put your house "hut" at Quetta at my disposal for about a couple of months. Also I know you were very kind when I happened to be in Kalat for a few days, and that you repeatedly pressed me and offered your hospitality to come and stay in Kalat. I was charmed with your camp and I fell in love with that beautiful little cottage, and while I am perhaps at Quetta to have complete rest, because after all Quetta is a very big

town, I shall be glad to avail myself of your hospitality, which you so cordially offered to me, and spend some time in Kalat, which can be arranged if I get as far as Quetta. On hearing from you I shall decide finally and definitely let you know when I can get there. Of course, I do not wish you to put yourself to any inconvenience, it is only if you can without any difficulty manage, then I shall be thankful to you. More when we meet.

I may add that Miss Jinnah will accompany me and at least one Secretary.

With very kind regards to you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,

(sd.) M. A. Jinnah

His Highness The Khan of Kalat,
Kalat.

(4)

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Quetta,
15th September, '45.

Your Highness,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 13th September, which was delivered to me on my arrival here by your Chief Secretary. I am looking forward to go to Mastung, but I have certain things to do, and I have explained to your Chief Secretary, which compels me to remain in Quetta for some little time. As soon as I can manage, I shall accept the hospitality and the honour that you have done me by your kind invitation to go over to Mastung and I am really looking forward to meeting you, as soon as I can possibly get away from Quetta.

Thanking you for your good wishes,

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and me,

Yours sincerely,
(sd.) M. A. Jinnah

H.H. The Khan of Kalat,
Palace,
Kalat.

(5)

Governor General's House,
Karachi.

2nd February, '48.

My dear Khan Sahib,

I was glad to meet your Prime Minister, Nawabzada Mohammed Aslam, today when he came to talk over matters with me on your behalf. We have discussed the matter, and he will convey to you the result of our talk.

As your friend and well-wisher, I advise you to join Pakistan without further delay. I do hope that you will carefully consider the matter and let me have your final reply which you promised to do after your stay with me in Karachi when we fully discussed the whole question in all its aspects.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- M. A. Jinnah

His Highness the Khan of Kalat.

INSIDE BALUCHISTAN

Appendix XVII

Aiwan-i-Kalat,
Quetta,
13th April, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I returned to Baluchistan on the 29th of last month. Before I say anything, I wish to convey to you grateful thanks from my people and myself for the kind and very affectionate thoughts you expressed in respect of our aspirations and for the sympathetic view with which you regarded the Kalat case. Your conversations still pervade all my thoughts, and they have had very benevolent effect on my feelings. It was due to this influence that I, at the very first opportunity, made in unequivocal terms a public announcement giving all my support to your demand of PAKISTAN—not only your demand, but rather a demand of the ten million Muslims of India! I enclose for your perusal a copy of the announcement which is in Urdu. Kalat, I believe, is the first and, so far, the only State which has publicly thrown its lot with Pakistan and has promised its fullest support therefor. The attitude that the opposite camp will consequently adopt in respect of Kalat and its demands is evident. At this juncture, I request you to do me a favour by giving a short public statement in support of my announcement. This will have at least a soothing effect on the feelings of the pro-League public, which at present are very much prone to be swept by the Congress propaganda: it is this thought that tempts me to request you for a statement in support of the Kalat Government announcement which would otherwise seem to you inopportune.

APPENDICES

2. I am sending you this letter by hand of Mr. Muhammad Azim, my Private Secretary. He has strong pro-League inclinations and has my full confidence in every respect. Any message you may like to send me through him will reach me safely.

3. I hope this letter will find Miss Jinnah and you both very much busy at Delhi. I wish you both good health and long life to serve the cause of the Muslims of India. In the end, I must once again thank you both for the kind hospitality you showed me while I was last at Bombay.

With kindest regards to you both.

Yours very affectionately,

Sd./- Mir Ahmad Yar Khan,
Khan of Kalat.

Enclosure:

One pamphlet.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah,
10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

Appendix XVIII

Viceregal Lodge,
Simla.

10th June, 1939.

Personal

My dear friend,

Sir Arthur Parsons has written to Your Highness officially informing you of my decision to remove certain limitations on the powers and dignities of the Khan of Kalat. I am very glad that my confidence in Your Highness' ability and good sense has enabled me to reach this decision. I understand that Your Highness is anxious for some kind of formal reaffirmation of the Treaty of 1876. I can, however, assure you that such reaffirmation is unnecessary, that I recognize the Treaty of 1876 as fully valid in every respect and that it will henceforth form the basis of the relations between the British Crown and Government and the Kalat State.

I trust Your Highness will live long to enjoy the results of the changes which have now been introduced.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/- Linlithgow
Crown Representative.

Captain His Highness
Beglar Begi Mir Sir Ahmad Yar Khan, G.C.I.E.,
of Kalat.

Appendix XIX

OFFICE OF THE PRIVATE SECRETARY
TO H. H. THE KHAN OF KALAT

Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps,
Viceregal Lodge,
New Delhi.

Express Telegram.

Your arrival in India has brought me pleasure and satisfaction aaa You are well known in India for your keen interest in and sympathy with India's cause your noble intentions and breadth of vision aaa.

I believe your guidance and sincere efforts will promote good will between Great Britain and India and make divergent interests of India appreciate common danger at her doors sink their differences and stand united against common enemy aaa.

I am confident your mission will be crowned with success and your timely intervention will help India in general in achieving her goal and Kalat State in particular in restoring its political and historical status as India's friendly neighbour.

Khan of Kalat

Sd/- AHMAD YAR KHAN

Aiwan-i-Kalat,
Quetta,
25-3-42.